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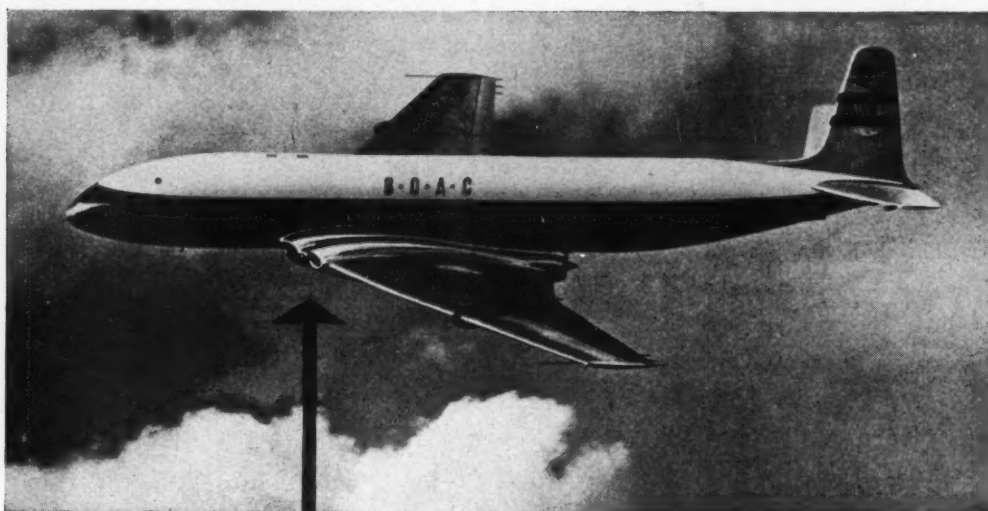
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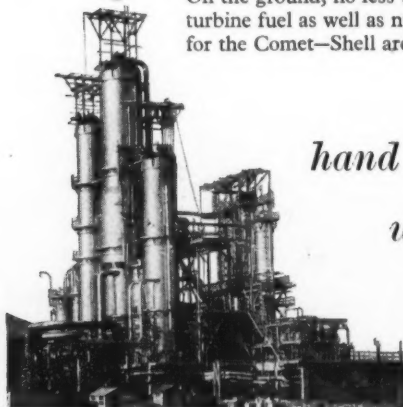


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EASTERN WORLD

THE KOREAN ISSUE

"CONFERENCES are a waste of money," said President Syngman Rhee of Korea before he, probably to prove his point, left for his conference with Formosa's President Chiang Kai-shek. The joint statement, which was the outcome of the Taipei meeting, announces the plan for the organisation of an Asian anti-communist front. It is doubtful whether any Asian governments will be impressed by this alliance, as it seems to constitute a desperate attempt to make arrangements for a continuation of the war in Korea. President Rhee realises that the US will hesitate to resume hostilities especially as she cannot count on assistance from other United Nations members and would almost certainly have to face involvement in a large-scale war. In fact, the US may have to consider leaving South Korea if a satisfactory agreement can be reached at a political conference. This would make South Korea's position untenable and President Rhee obviously secured Formosan help for such an eventuality. More likely, however, is the possibility that the two anti-Communist leaders are contemplating not a defensive, but an aggressive policy. Neither of them are adequately equipped for such a Don Quixotic adventure, but their past records and lack of political acumen does not exclude such suicidal dreams, particularly as President Rhee stated that his people "dying in North Korea" are begging him "to march north to save them."

The ranks of this Formosan-South Korean alliance will, no doubt, be swelled by the thousands of Communist prisoners who refuse to be repatriated. They cannot be congratulated on this acquisition. The reports on the scandalous scenes during the "explanations" at Panmunjom make it clear that the majority of the prisoners constitute the worst dregs of humanity whose hooliganism contrasts very unfavourably with the patience of the Chinese and North Korean explainers and the almost supernatural calm of the Indian Custodian Force under General K. S. Thimayya. Details were recently circulated, surprisingly enough by the Formosan information services, giving verbatim reports on these explanations. The indecencies hurled by the prisoners against the explainers, the monotonous, idiotic repetitions of irrelevant slogans by P.O.W.s, confirm the existence of a well-organised, brutal pressure group inside the camps, which make it difficult to call this an ideological issue. Yet the prisoners' behaviour has been praised in the American press as if these elements were really in a position of making well-considered, balanced decisions. That a "holy war" should be conducted to save these precious souls, and that any pretence should be seriously made that they are wanted for anything else but to swell the ranks of the S. Korean and Formosan army, is sheer hypocrisy. If they become honoured mem-

bers of the "free world," the latter will lose more "face" in Asian eyes than the Communists have suffered by getting rid of them. Amidst this criminal atmosphere, the Indian troops represent a contrast of civilisation which will more appeal to Asians than the unconvincing war cries of Formosa and Seoul. If an alternative to Communism is to be offered to Asia, it cannot be done by supporting the most discredited elements she possesses.

NEW ERA IN THE PHILIPPINES

BY electing Ramon Magsaysay to the Presidency last month the people of the Philippines might be said to have achieved a peaceful, but small, revolution. It is almost certain that if Elpidio Quirino had been able to fix it so that he was re-elected President, the frustrated and downtrodden peasantry would have risen under the leadership of the Communists. For some time past the new President has stood head and shoulders above other Filipino politicians, and his popularity with the electorate was achieved through personal competence and honesty. As Minister of Defence in the Liberal Party Cabinet he cleared the army of corrupting elements, and with this reorganised force carried on a successful campaign against the Communist-led Huk rebels. It was clear enough to him that discontent and land starvation threw the peasants into the arms of the Communists, and he broke with President Quirino and the Liberals earlier this year because that party through graft, corruption and avarice stood to gain from perpetuating the oppressive landowner system.

Mr. Magsaysay's election platform had two main planks: anti-corruption in the administration and more attention to the problems of the countryside. It should not be difficult for him personally to honour the first, although his party—the Nationalists—have a somewhat shady past to live down. The second pledge, dependent as it is on the first, is the more important. It will take a great deal of courage to carry through reforms in the rural areas in a manner as drastic as the situation demands. But if democratic government is to survive and nationalist aspirations are to be fulfilled, then agrarian reform and relief of poverty must be achieved quickly. The new President will not find any of it plain sailing. The last thing business circles, both Filipino and American, want to see are reforms which may affect their comfort and profits. And some of the new President's plans may run contrary to the United States conception of the Philippines as a strategic base in the Pacific.

During the election campaign the position of the parties with regard to relations with America became very confused, and the Liberals, who had been accusing Mr. Magsaysay of being pro-Communist, found it expedient to call him also pro-American. What President Magsaysay's attitude will be in the future towards America remains to be seen, but it is known that a large section of his party are traditionally anti-American. It is only to be hoped that the new President will not be diverted into wasting his energy trying to maintain his balance on a slippery pole.

WESTMINSTER AND THE EAST

By Harold Davies, M.P.

FOUR months ago, in this column, I wrote saying that a Four Power Conference seemed to be as remote as ever. We are no nearer that objective now. Initiative has passed from Sir Winston Churchill into other hands. It would be wrong to magnify unduly the differences that are to be seen in the ranks of the Conservatives, nevertheless the famous 1922 Committee is having its effect upon the foreign policy of the Government. This Committee of Conservative back-benchers acts as a watch-dog on the Government benches. It still measures Britain's greatness in the terms of the power politics of the last century. Lacking the responsibility of their Front Bench, some of these Members in the Conservative ranks unbendingly swash-buckle through the grievances and ambitions of the Colonial and Asian peoples and thus help to pile up the hatred of the West that is growing throughout the Far East and in some of the Colonies.

This policy means that Britain must keep its forces peppered all over the world. The result is that we have the maximum of commitments with the minimum of security at home or in Europe. Lord Ismay tells us that since 1949 Western Europe's Defence has gone up 120 per cent, but those are figures on a piece of paper. The reality is that all this is undermined by the vast overseas commitments of both France and Britain. France weakens and bleeds herself to death in Indo-China, while Britain takes on more and more commitments in her Colonies. As though this were not enough, while Parliament was still in Recess many M.P.s were amazed to read the speech of Mr. John Foster Dulles, speaking at St. Louis, where he told the world that this country was committed in certain circumstances to extend hostilities, if they again broke out, into Manchuria. Our American friends must be made to realise that the House of Commons did not consider itself thus committed when we left for our constituencies last July. Europe could not be defended if a major war were to break out on the Far Eastern front.

The Bermuda Conference of the Three Powers will be a poor thing if it merely, once again, produces schemes for European Defence without looking at the movement for liberation in Asia. The Queen's Speech, which is Government policy, was almost quiescent about the Far East. References were there about the Korean Truce, but no concrete steps were suggested to hasten decisions. No questioning the doubtful activities of Syngman Rhee; no demands for the liberalisation of trade with China were to be found in that speech. Neither, as yet, has the Opposition put up a real fight on this question of trade with China. While responsible British newspapers, trade journals and businessmen are beginning to question the

wisdom of our embargo on East-West trade, the politicians are almost silent.

Mr. Anthony Eden went out of his way in answer to Sir John Barlow, M.P., to denounce the British organisation known as the British Council for the Promotion of International Trade. Harold Wilson, M.P., a former Labour President of the Board of Trade, said of this Council: "The organisation in question has as its President a former Nobel Peace prize-winner, as its Vice-President a highly respected economist who is a Reader in Economics in the University of Cambridge, and the Council includes a former Minister of the Crown, other Members of both Houses of Parliament, several distinguished professors of economics in Glasgow, Cambridge, Bristol, Hull and Birmingham, and a number of leading businessmen. This same organisation recently promoted a trade mission to China which comprised some 20 representatives of well-known business firms some of whom (such as Austin Motor Company—certainly not a Communist front organisation) were successful in placing valuable orders with the Chinese authorities." The House of Commons has not been told on what grounds the Foreign Office find the British Council for the Promotion of International Trade to be a "Communist front."

This Council has established itself as a sound go-between for East-West trade just at the time that the old commercial relationships are undergoing a fundamental change, and it has been responsible for arranging millions of pounds' worth of mutual trade. Despite this the Foreign Office blindly damns the Council without giving Members an opportunity to examine the basis of the charge. So we tighten our bans while fantastically enough we hear from Tokyo that the United States has approved the removal of the embargo on the shipments of many articles of strategic value to China. Some British M.P.s, like the French, are now beginning to question, in Parliament, the activities of the Consultative Group Cooperation Committee set up in Paris in 1949. This Committee includes all the NATO countries, plus Germany and Japan. The nature of its deliberations are secret but it is, in fact, a supra-national committee and the lists of goods that it bans have never been made known either in the British or the French Parliament. America would do well to hasten the removal of irritating and unnecessary functions of the Consultative Group Cooperation Committee so that legitimate trade between East-West can be opened. I found when talking to a group of British businessmen recently in the House of Commons that they are suspicious of this Committee and fear the forthcoming competition in China from West Germany, Japan and the United States.

ASIA IN WASHINGTON

By David C. Williams (Washington)

ALTHOUGH the fighting has ceased in Korea, that far-off country continues to hold the attention of the American people. Through the press, television and radio they are following with deep concern the tragic drama of the returning prisoners of war, and the even more tragic drama of those who, so far, have refused to return.

For the first time, they are getting, from Americans returning from the prison camps of North Korea, a full account of their treatment while in Communist hands. It is not a pretty story, and has been compared to the worst of the Nazi and Japanese atrocities in the recent World War.

Moreover, some of the returned prisoners figure in the sort of psychological drama which, hitherto, Americans had associated with the Moscow trials. These are the officers who, while in Communist hands, "confessed" to having taken part in germ warfare. These confessions were elaborately detailed. They were not only committed to paper, but given orally and recorded for use by Communist propagandists. They were repeated before the so-called "International Scientific Commission for the Investigation of Facts Concerning Bacterial Warfare in Korea and China," composed of people who had long cooperated with the Communists and whose journey to China and Korea greatly helped their propaganda. The officers even appeared in moving pictures, repeating their statements, which were distributed throughout the world.

Released by the Communists, these officers have strenuously repudiated their confessions. They have described in detail the physical and psychological torments which were used to exact them, the threats of death or worse against those who held out, the offer of life and comfort to those who complied. Dr. Charles Mayo, one of America's most distinguished physicians and a member of the present American delegation to the United Nations, has formally presented these statements to that body. As was to be expected, Jacob Malik, speaking for the Soviet Union, blandly charged that the retractions of the "confessions" were obtained by "star chamber" procedures. But the fact that the "germ warfare" theme virtually disappeared from Communist propaganda some months ago suggests that its usefulness to them has been exhausted. And, indeed, the evidence is overwhelming that this totally false charge was manufactured out of whole cloth, using the same methods (applied under Soviet supervision) which were used in the Moscow trials of the 1930s.

Out of the thousands of American prisoners who were in Communist hands, only some twenty have so far refused to return. One of the original group, Corporal Edward Dickenson, has changed his mind and more may follow;

the evidence is that only a few of them are convinced Communists, who by virtue of their dominant personalities have so far restrained the others from returning. Unhappy that any of their soldiers refuse to return, the American people nevertheless draw the striking comparison with the thousands of Chinese and North Koreans who have refused to go back.

There remains the problem of the confessors. Are they heroes or villains? Official opinion is divided. The Marine Corps appears ready to court-martial Col. Schwable, the highest ranking officer in the group. The Air Force seems disposed to forgive and forget, and this seems to be the majority view among people generally.

With regard to the wider issues at stake in Korea, a certain disenchantment has been evident lately. At first, the Korean truce seemed to be an impressive achievement for President Eisenhower—all the more impressive because the record of his Administration in domestic affairs has, so far, appeared confused and mediocre. He had triumphantly carried out, his supporters claimed, the implied pledge of clearing up "the mess in Korea" which he made during the Presidential campaign, and which played such a large role in his victory.

Now that the Korean question seems very, very far from being settled, a good deal of the original enthusiasm has vanished. Although, like elections in most countries, American elections turn mainly upon domestic issues, the deflation of Eisenhower's Korean achievement has doubtless had something to do with the recent sharp decline in his popularity, a decline made evident by Democratic victories in last month's elections. The most significant was a Congressional by-election in the important industrial state of New Jersey; here the Democrats won a seat which had been held by the Republicans for two decades.

The result of the November elections makes it clear that the President faces a crucial decision. So far, he has tried to please both factions of the Republican Party—the diehard reactionaries symbolised by Senator McCarthy, and the more liberal Republicans who were, as a matter of fact, mainly responsible for Eisenhower's victory. This effort to blow hot and cold at the same time has not succeeded, and seems certain to lead to Republican defeat in next year's nation-wide Congressional elections.

The President has the choice between leading an anti-Communist crusade, in the course of which he will be compelled to embrace McCarthy at home and Chiang Kai-shek abroad, and coming forward as the responsible (and effective) leader of a country seeking peace with freedom. The decision he will make, after he and his advisers have fully analysed last month's sharp reverses, will be of vital importance, not only for America, but for Asia as well.

ASIA AND LIFE PEERS?

By the Rt. Hon. Lord Ogmores

IN the Speech from the Throne on November 3rd last, House of Lords reform was referred to in these terms:

"My Ministers will give further consideration to the question of reform of the House of Lords." Such consideration has been promised by Statute since 1910 but perhaps this time something will come of it. Speaking in the debate on the Address in reply to the Speech, the Marquess of Salisbury, the Leader of the House, said: "I hope that the House will recognise the very real importance the Government attach to an effective Second Chamber. It is for that reason we propose to give further consideration to this subject of reform of the present body."

A year or so ago representatives of the opposition parties in the United Kingdom were invited by the Government to consider reform in the constitution of the Lords. The Liberal Party accepted but the Labour Party rejected the invitation.

The present Chamber, except for the Bishops, who are *ex-officio*, and the Law Lords, who are appointed for life, is hereditary. Sixteen of the Lords are elected by their fellow Scottish Peers to represent them. Of the 857 Peers, 176 or roughly one-fifth are Peers of first creation but their titles are hereditary too. During the years from 1947-51 for special reasons there was an average creation of 15 Peers a year but normally the average is less than this figure.

Apart from their appellate functions exercised by the Lord Chancellor, former Lord Chancellors and the Law Lords, the House is a Second Chamber with lesser legal powers nowadays than the House of Commons in the sense that under certain circumstances they can be overridden by the Commons but still a Constituent House of Parliament with responsibility for the United Kingdom and the colonial territories.

The reputation of the House of Lords as a revising Chamber, as a Chamber where technical Bills often start on their legislative journey and as a forum where important debates on a wide variety of topics are frequently held, is high. It is certain that whilst the two major parties in the Commons are roughly equal in size and the committee stages of all Bills have to be taken on the floor of the House, in addition to the duties of the Commons with regard to finance, the opportunity for discussion of many important matters in the popular chamber is limited. Hence in recent years the educative function of debate on a wide variety of topics, educative that is of public opinion, one of the important functions of the Legislature, is carried out, probably to a greater extent than it used to be, by the Upper House.

A Second Chamber, too, by its very nature should be

concerned in a greater measure than the elective chamber with long term considerations, with matters of little popular appeal but of importance and with the special concerns of minorities. The Second Chamber should be a bit above the battle. The popular chamber should be and is, at all events within a reasonable time after a general election, a microcosm of the people whom it represents.

In the House of Lords although the Peers of first creation are only one-fifth of the whole, as one would expect since they have usually had considerable previous experience of public affairs, perhaps as Ministers, as Members of the Commons, as leaders in the armed forces, in the learned professions or in industry, they take a considerable part in the work of the House. In fact, in the 1947 to 1951 Sessions out of the 318 Peers who addressed the House 147 were Lords of first creation.

The difficulty of justifying in these days a House where all the Members, except for the two categories I have mentioned, are hereditary together with the unwieldy bulk of the membership, the fact that hundreds rarely, and scores never, attend and the desire to have a tidier chamber, possibly with remuneration of members, has led to a demand for reform of its constitution. The demand is not unanimous. There are those on the right and on the left in politics who would prefer to leave the House alone.

The invitation to a Conference not having been accepted, the Government, the Speech seems to imply, will themselves consider the various suggestions for reform that have been made, the favourite being the one providing that the Queen should be empowered to create a fixed number of Lords of Parliament. Some of these would be Life Peers and some would be selected from the hereditary peerage in order to preserve continuity and a youthful element in the assembly. If the larger issue of reform of the constitution of the House is not put before it by the Government, the House will have to give further consideration to a Bill introduced by Viscount Simon, the former Lord Chancellor, and now adjourned, a Bill which, if passed, empowers the creation of not more than 10 Life Peers a year. These Life Peers may be men or women; the latter an innovation as at present no women sit in the Lords.

Parliament when considering a Government measure or Viscount Simon's Bill should, I feel, give thought to the creation of men or women from the colonies as Life Peers.

Up to the present there have been a few gentlemen ennobled from Commonwealth countries other than the United Kingdom, the names of the late Lord Sinha (India), the late Viscount Bennett (Canada), Viscount Bruce of Melbourne (Australia) and Lord Freyberg (New Zealand), spring to mind. So far as I can recollect no citizen of the

present colonial territories has been ennobled. This factor I regard as a weakness in the constitution of the House of Lords.

In my view, and this is a personal expression of opinion and does not bind my party in any way, there would be considerable value both to the colonial territories and to the United Kingdom in having a certain number of unofficial and eminent representatives who could take part in our debates. After all, the House of Lords is the descendant of the Grand Council and what better counsellors could there be than some we could all think of from the colonial territories?

The House of Lords frequently discusses colonial problems, and problems, for example of foreign policy, where colonial issues have a bearing and although it does so, I believe, with authority and knowledge its counsel and its prestige in these matters would be enhanced by the advice of members from the colonies themselves. Furthermore, the House has grave responsibility for the colonies and yet has not one member, so far as I am aware, from the colonial peoples.

It has been widely assumed that all the colonies are going to be independent members of the Commonwealth. Some there are, such as the Federation of Malaya, Nigeria, the Gold Coast, the Federations of the West Indies and Central Africa, which may well become independent but the majority of the Colonial territories owing to their isolation or their lack of economic resources can never in the foreseeable future be independent and yet they will desire not

only domestic self-government but some opportunity of lifting up their voices in the Councils of Westminster. Obviously they can never send representatives to the House of Commons, but if a change in the Constitution of the House of Lords is made, here is one opportunity for them to be represented.

It may be said, of course, that there is nothing to stop suitable people from being ennobled now, but I imagine that the sort of people I have in mind would prefer a Life Peerage and would not necessarily wish the title to descend to their families; in fact their successors might not necessarily be of the right temperament and experience to undertake this task and thus the whole purpose of Life Peers from the colonies would be lost.

I appreciate, fully, that the choice would be difficult. Of course, there are many distinguished Malaysians and other colonial peoples who would be suitable in every way, men and women who command the respect of their fellow citizens, but the choice would be narrowed because they would have to have leisure and a certain financial independence. No doubt if Life Peers are introduced in a general scheme of reform reasonable travelling expenses and subsistence would be allowed, otherwise the financial element would create some difficulty. Still it is by no means insuperable. France overcomes it even for representatives from as far away as Pondicherry and Tahiti, and I have no doubt that provided the principle found general acceptance, the detail would soon be satisfactorily settled.

The Position of Minorities in India

By John J. Pinto (Calcutta)

THE minority problem, in various forms, is one which every country in the world has been called upon at some time in its history to face and solve. Some countries have been fortunate enough to find a permanent solution; others have had to continually revise past solutions which have outlived their usefulness.

The new Republic of India, in common with other countries, also has her "Minority Problem," a problem which the partition of India, instead of solving, made much more acute. This problem, rooted in the past, distorted and disfigured through a long series of unfortunate incidents, is perhaps the greatest single potential danger to the peace, happiness, prosperity and independence of India, and has occupied the best Indian minds ever since Indians became politically conscious. Many expedients have been tried to solve it, and they have accomplished much, but the problem remains as acute and intransigent today as it was in the days of Akbar the Great.

The facts of the situation are briefly these. India has a population of approximately 350 millions, of which roughly 80% belong to the majority community—the Hindus. The remainder of her population is divided

among the other religious, social and cultural minorities that go to make up the rich, complex and variegated pattern of Indian life. The chief minority in India, in spite of the creation of the Muslim state of Pakistan, are the Muslims, almost half of whom decided to make India their home after the partition. This number has been reduced by subsequent migration and conflicts, but Muslims in India still number from 30 to 35 million and, come what may, their fate is indissolubly bound up with India, for there is no room for them in Pakistan. The other important minorities are the Christians (six million), the Sikhs (four million), the Anglo-Indian or Eurasians (300,000) and the Parsis (100,000), who are a small but compact, influential and wealthy section of the Indian population. The three principal minorities are religious in origin and character; the Eurasians are distinguished by race, religious and cultural differences, and the Parsis by race and religion.

The main divisions between the Indian people are thus seen to be primarily religious divisions; and this accounts for their permanence and depth. Each religious group—whether Hindu, Muslim or Christian—has its roots in the past, its age-old tradition and customs, its own religious

beliefs and cultural heritage, even, to some extent, its own language, dress and manners. Underlying these wide differences there are sufficient common elements of behaviour and outlook to justify the common appellation "Indian," but the differences are sufficiently deep to prevent any loose belief in the existence of a specifically "Indian" culture, ethos, and way of life. These diverse religions and cultures have existed side by side for centuries, yet there has been little merging or assimilation of one by the other and little real synthesis. The members of the main majority and minority groups, though mixing freely together socially, seldom intermarry or maintain really close contact with one another—in fact, they tend to keep their distance, and their relations, while friendly, are apt to operate on a "thus far and no further" principle. Whether this is right or desirable, this is no place to discuss; the fact remains that such a state of affairs has always existed and still exists today.

Separatist tendencies have been exaggerated rather than mitigated by historical, religious, economic and political forces and factors. The British policy of "Divide et Impera"; recurring spasms of religious fanaticism; irresponsible political leaders on both sides; a long history of politico-economic conflict, with its inevitable aftermath of fear and suspicion, have all tended to aggravate the strained relations between the majority and minority communities, especially between the Hindus and the Muslims. The massacres after partition, and a long series of unfortunate incidents after, culminating in the Kashmir dispute, have further widened and deepened the rift between the Hindus and the Muslims, and, to a much lesser extent, other minorities, who live in uneasy partnership with the majority community, wondering how long they will be able to maintain their individual character and existence.

That such a state of affairs should exist between ordinary people who make up the major and minor communities is unfortunate; the majority of India's leaders are wholeheartedly in favour of confidence, friendship and mutual happiness between all sections of the Indian population. This sincere and deep desire to make all Indian citizens, whether belonging to the major or minor communities, free and equal citizens of India found clear and concrete expression in the new Constitution, drawn up by India's first free Constituent Assembly, which, resisting the attempts of a small, fanatical section of Hindus desirous of making the country a theocratic Hindu State, declared India to be a Sovereign Democratic Republic. The concept of a secular state rests essentially on an extension of the democratic principles of freedom, equality and social justice to all citizens without distinction of religion, race or caste, and the safeguarding of the culture and way of life of the minorities, which finds clear expression in the preamble to the New Constitution which reads:—

"We the people of India have solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic, and to secure to all citizens *Justice*—Social, economic and political,
Liberty—of thought, expression, belief, faiths and worship.

Equality—of status and opportunity; and to promote among them all

Fraternity—assuring the dignity of the individual and the dignity of the nation."

This general statement of basic rights in the preamble is given more concrete and detailed expression in articles 29 and 30 of the Constitution which are specifically designed to safeguard the political, social, cultural and religious rights of the minorities. Article 29 (i) states: "Any section of citizens residing in the territory of India or any part thereof having a distinct language, script and culture of its own shall have the right to preserve the same." Article 30 reads:

(i) All minorities, whether based on religion, community or language, shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their own.

(ii) The State shall not in granting aid to educational institutions discriminate against any on the ground that it is under the management of a minority, whether based on community, language or religion.

Another article guarantees the right of minorities to practise and propagate their religion, to equality before the law, to protection of life and liberty, to freedom of association and speech.

All these articles aim at securing to the minorities full and equal citizenship of the Indian Union, and at ensuring their continued existence as racial, linguistic, religious and cultural entities within the nation at large. Special machinery has also been provided to enforce these articles. Though the principle of Special Electorates has been abandoned the President has been given extraordinary powers if enough minority representatives are not elected in free elections to nominate representatives of the minority communities to the Central Assembly and the State Legislatures who will be able to protect and safeguard the rights of their respective communities. And, in the last resort, in the event of any infringement of their rights, the minorities have the right to take the matter to the Supreme Court.

Acts of Parliament, though wise and far-sighted, do not, however, *ipso facto* produce concord and friendship where there has been suspicion and hostility before; what is important is not the letter of the law but the spirit in which the law is enforced and administered. An atmosphere of mutual friendship, trust, and wholehearted cooperation is essential for a happy relationship between the majority and the minority communities. When Independence was declared, and during the two years during which the Constituent Assembly was hammering out the details of the new Constitution, there were, apart from isolated disagreeable incidents, many encouraging signs that such an atmosphere did prevail over large sections of the majority and minority communities.

The very Constitution of the Assembly and the manner in which the Indian Constitution was drawn up reveals the mutual trust and confidence between the majority and minority communities. The majority community, with an overwhelming majority in the Assembly and the nation, could have imposed its views on the minorities; instead it made an all-out effort to secure the support and cooperation

of all groups in the framing of the constitution. Many minority representatives were returned to the Assembly on the Congress ticket and earned places in the Central and State Cabinets, so that the minorities had an equal chance to express their views and safeguard their interests. Members of the minorities were appointed as Governors and ambassadors and Indian representatives on the United Nations and its kindred bodies, and, what was much more important, they found a prominent place on the various committees that drew up the various sections of the Constitution, and no committee report was presented to the Assembly before it received the assent of all minorities, so that the latter had a full share in the shaping of the Constitution at every stage. Still more tangible political and economic safeguards were provided in the shape of reservation of posts and seats for certain minorities for a period of ten years to give time for a psychological change to take place in the relations between minorities and the majority community.

Communal harmony and a fair deal for the minorities are not a desirable luxury but an absolute necessity if both India and Pakistan are to make progress along the path of freedom, equality and justice. For centuries the minorities and the majority community have lived side by side in India, linked by ties of birth and common elements in their culture. There are no reasons, except man-made ones, why differences of culture, religion, habits of life and thought should create conflict or weaken and destroy the essential unity of India.

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THE CEYLON POLITICAL SCENE

By K. G. Navaratne (Colombo)

UP to August 12th Ceylon was perhaps the only country east of Suez which was free from internal turmoil. On that day, however, the country witnessed an unprecedented orgy of rioting, arson and looting, and martial law had to be imposed throughout the island. The violence was an unintended sequel of the strike in protest at the removal of the rice subsidy, and happily the situation returned to normal in a few days. But the events of that day set in motion a chain-reaction whose results have not yet been entirely felt.

Since then, there has been a change in the leadership of the Government, Sir John Kotelawala taking over the Premiership from Mr. Dudley Senanayake. The Cabinet has been reorganised, new blood has been infused into it and the number of Ministries has been reduced from 14 to 12. And though the same Party is in power, the new Government has decided to make many changes in its policy. It has also shown a greater inclination to listen to informed public opinion as voiced through the Press.

The strike of August 12th brought home to the people the unpleasant fact that the Government of Mr. Senanayake was incapable of solving the embarrassingly tangled economic and social problems of the country. He was

known to be unable to curb the headstrong tendencies and individualistic actions of certain Ministers of his Cabinet—Ministers who had forfeited public confidence due to their inefficiency and ineffectuality in the past. The Prime Minister himself was known to be sick. Under the circumstances a change of Government became imperative.

The *Times of Ceylon* commenting on this situation said:

"It was clear ever since the difficult days of the August 'hartal' that some drastic step would have to be taken in the country's interest. Either Mr. Senanayake had to assert his authority much more positively over his colleagues, reorganise the Cabinet and thoroughly overhaul Government policy, or he had to step down and yield place to someone who could assure good and strong Government at a time of serious crisis."

The not unexpected announcement of Mr. Senanayake's resignation came on October 12th, exactly two months after the August strike. It quashed the fantastic conjectures that had been sweeping the country and brought to an end a long period of frustrating anxiety and demoralising uncertainty. Many people regretted Mr. Senanayake's resignation, but there was no other alternative.



Sir John Kotelawala

Sir John Kotelawala, the new Premier, is a veteran parliamentarian, having served in the Government in various capacities since 1932. He is noted for his candour, moral and physical strength and his ability to get things done. The nation has welcomed him at this time of crisis, and much is expected of him.

Of the many urgent problems awaiting solution, the most important is the economic regeneration of Ceylon. At no time has the country's finances been in such a bad way as it has been in the past eighteen months. Prices for Ceylon's exports, especially tea, rubber and coconuts, have fallen steeply. On the other hand, the country has to pay enhanced prices for her foodstuffs, most of which has to be imported. Ceylon's external assets have also fallen alarmingly, from Rs.1,200 million in January, 1952, to Rs.600 million in June, 1953. Within the country itself

prices have gone up and with it the cost of living. Unemployment has also increased.

The development of the country's industries, intensification of the agricultural effort, provision of adequate housing and health facilities, improvement of public transport and the maintenance of a high level of employment are other problems that have to be tackled by the new Government.

Sir John Kotelawala began his onerous task in a business-like manner. As a first step he ordered that all unnecessary expenditure should be curbed and that the Public Service should waken from its accustomed lethargy. Stepping up the food drive, state aid for housing schemes and the diversification of the country's economy are also high on his reconstruction programme. But his main energies will be devoted to the important task of removing the budget deficit which has grown in the past few years. This has been one of the major causes of Ceylon's financial difficulties.

In the sphere of foreign affairs, the new Government, according to Sir John, proposes to pursue a policy of non-interference in the affairs of other countries, while at the same time maintaining the closest possible relations with the country's immediate neighbours, particularly India and Burma. Full support of the United Nations, belief in the British Commonwealth, steering clear of power blocs both of the East and the West, and opposition to colonisation and racial and religious discriminations are other features of the new policy.

Ceylon has turned to Sir John Kotelawala in its hour of trial; it looks to him to steer the country away from the rocks towards which it had been drifting with alarming rapidity. His fate, and that of the United National Party which governs the country, will depend on how the problems facing the country are solved. For Ceylon is in no mood to tolerate any further Ministers and Government officials who prove to be incapable of doing their jobs.

MALENKOV AND MAO TSE-TUNG

By a Special Correspondent

THE message sent by the Soviet Prime Minister Malenkov to Mao Tse-tung on the occasion of the 4th anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of China, on September 30th, 1953, shows in its exuberance a striking contrast to the short message sent a year before—on the occasion of the third anniversary—by the late Marshal Stalin. The full text of Stalin's message was:

To Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central People's Government of the Chinese People's Republic, Peking:

On the occasion of the third anniversary of the proclamation of the Chinese People's Republic I ask you, Comrade Chairman, to accept my cordial congratulations.

I wish the great Chinese people, the Government of the

Chinese People's Republic and you personally new successes in building up a mighty people's democratic Chinese State.

May the great friendship between the Chinese People's Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which is the firm bulwark of peace and security in the Far East and in the whole world, grow stronger and flourish!

J. STALIN

Malenkov's message, on the other hand, reads as follows:

To Comrade Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, Peking:

On the fourth anniversary of the proclamation of the People's Republic of China, I ask you, Comrade Chairman, and the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, to accept my heartfelt congratulations.

The past four years have shown the whole world the great viability and stability of the People's Republic of China, which is successfully carrying out historic transformations in the country and ensuring an advance in the economy, culture and material wellbeing of the masses of the people.

The People's Republic of China has become an international force which does not permit the imperialists to have a free hand in enslaving the Asian peoples, to pursue with impunity a policy aimed at converting Asia into a hotbed of a new world war. The events in Korea are evidence of the fact that the Chinese people have become a mighty bulwark of the oppressed peoples of the East in their struggle for freedom and independence.

The all-round progress achieved by the People's Republic of China arouses feelings of deep satisfaction and pride among all progressive mankind. There is no force in the world capable of stopping the advance of the Chinese people along the path of national development and prosperity for their country.

The Soviet people sincerely wish the great Chinese people fresh successes in carrying out the programme for the industrialisation of their country, in developing agriculture and improving the wellbeing of the people, and in the further all-round strengthening of their people's democratic state.

May the unbreakable fraternal friendship and close co-operation between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China grow and develop for the good of the peoples of our countries, for the sake of strengthening peace and international security.

G. MALENKOV

Considering the care with which messages by Soviet leaders are usually formulated, the length of Malenkov's message and the use of the expression "unbreakable fraternal friendship and close cooperation between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China . . ." as against Stalin's "great friendship between the Chinese People's Republic and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics . . ." is remarkable. However, even more significant is the sentence "There is no force in the world capable of stopping the advance of the Chinese people along the path of national development and prosperity for their country," as these words have been used in the past only in relation to the Soviet Union.

Comparing these two messages one gains the impression that their difference cannot be due only to a stabilisation of the new régime in China during the past year, but to a change in the relations between Moscow and Peking. It is noteworthy that while *Pravda's* editorial of October 1st, 1953, stressed the fact that all the "great victories won by the Chinese people" in economic construction and in the international sphere "are bound up with the extensive, selfless and fraternal assistance" rendered by the Soviet Union (an old Soviet tune, probably mainly meant for home consumption), it also contains the following very significant paragraph:

"The peoples of the colonial and dependent countries of the East see in the all-round progress of the People's Republic of China a vivid example of what great deeds can be performed by a people who have taken their destiny into their own hands."

Can this mean that after the death of Marshal Stalin

the new Soviet leaders—very busy with their own internal affairs—had to agree to the passing of the leadership of Asian Communist Parties from Moscow to Peking? The only note of superiority in Moscow's pronouncements can be detected in the fact that, while the Soviet statements emphasise the marching of the Soviet Union towards communism, the words "socialism" or "communism" are not referred to in statements and articles devoted to China. Otherwise, the wooing of China goes on in the Soviet Press which pays great tribute to the economic and cultural achievements of China; the slogans issued by the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party on the occasion of the anniversary of the Soviet Revolution this year were more prolific than last year. Marshal Voroshilov, the Soviet President, while addressing the Celebration Meeting on November 6th, 1953, declared that:

In Asia, a great people's democratic power has come into being—the People's Republic of China—which appears as a stabilising factor for peace and progress in Asia and throughout the world. This great country prevents the imperialists from pursuing with impunity the policy of turning Asia into a centre of a new world war. It is a mighty bulwark of the oppressed peoples of the East in their struggle for freedom, democracy and genuine independence.

In this connection, it is impossible not to touch upon the attitude of the imperialist powers who oppose the restoration of the legitimate rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations. This attitude undoubtedly makes for continued international tension. The great Chinese people cannot be ignored in solving major international problems, and in particular those relating to the Far East. One cannot seriously speak of the possibility of lessening international tension and settling the problems of Asia unless the People's Republic of China takes an active part in this.

How different it was only two years ago when Beria, addressing the Celebration Meeting devoted to the 34th anniversary of the Soviet Revolution, first spoke of the achievements of the countries of People's Democracy in Eastern Europe and only then paid tribute to the Chinese. Eight years have passed since Stalin concluded the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance with Chiang Kai-shek. The moral support and assistance in military equipment and other material resources to be rendered by the Soviet Government were to be given "fully to the National Government as the Central Government of China." History has shown that Mao Tse-tung's appraisal of the situation in China—opposed to that of Stalin and Molotov—was the correct one. Is it too wild a speculation to make that at present Mao Tse-tung enjoys a higher prestige than any living Soviet leader among the Asian communists? The cold-shouldering of Mao Tse-tung by Moscow in the past (incidentally Mao did not go to Moscow to Stalin's funeral) has to be made good by the Soviet leaders now. It appears that the recent economic talks between the Soviet Union and China proceeded more smoothly than in previous years due to the changed attitude by the Kremlin. And the Soviet wooing of China might be designed to let the Chinese leaders forget the Soviet mistakes of the past.

Indo-China's Prefabricated Nationalists

By Andrew Roth

WHEN the Vietnamese "National Congress" defied Chief of State Bao Dai on October 19th and refused to dissolve itself, French commentators recalled the famous "Tennis Court Oath." This was a turning point in the French Revolution, when deputies of the Third Estate gathered on a tennis court on June 20th, 1789, and swore not to separate until they had written a constitution for France.

Viet Nam's "National Congress" also revolted. It had been specially convened to give Bao Dai's negotiations in France the rubber-stamp of "national" approval. It was scheduled to meet for two days only, like the "yes-men" of the Russian Supreme Soviet. During this time it was expected to endorse Bao Dai's demand for greater independence and nominate a list of twenty persons from which Bao Dai could choose six to join in the Paris talks. To ensure that everything went smoothly, the arrangements were supervised by Prince Buu Loc, the Emperor's right-hand man and High Commissioner in Paris, and Tran Van An, who first made his name as a Japanese-sponsored Vietnamese broadcaster on war-time Radio Singapore. Between them they tried to ensure that only tame supporters of Bao Dai were included among the wholly nominated rubber-stampers.

When the "Congress" convened on October 15th, it surprised itself, its sponsors and the world. Its 197 delegates voted unanimously for complete independence outside the French Union; only after frantic cables from Bao Dai in Paris did it agree to Prince Buu Loc's pleadings to append the qualification that its objection was to the French Union "in its present form." It resolved that all previous Franco-Vietnamese agreements—including secret treaties—should be null and void. Another resolution—with 83 abstaining—voted that all crown lands should be handed over to the state. The "Congress" refused to name the list of 20 requested by Bao Dai. It agreed that, after a complete transfer of sovereignty, Viet Nam could sign a treaty of alliance with France provided that it would be ratified by a Vietnamese National Assembly elected by universal suffrage. Delegates suggested that they might have been even more forthright when they complained to reporters: "The Congress is not independent, but under outside influence. We cannot fulfil our mission."

These decisions—made in response to Vietnamese public opinion—caused consternation in France where many people had apparently persuaded themselves that the transfer of limited power to French nominees had quenched the thirst of non-Communist nationalists. Foreign Minister Georges Bidault telephoned agitatedly from the London "Big Three" meeting. A hurried meeting of the French cabinet was devoted entirely to the situation in Indo-China,

as was an all-night sitting of the National Assembly. The cry went up throughout France: "If this is the Viet Nam attitude, why are French soldiers still dying there?" *Le Monde* asked a more sophisticated question: "Are we not fighting to maintain a régime which has not succeeded in gaining either popular support or even that of the privileged classes?"

When Bao Dai left France for Indo-China on October 26th, he bore with him a demand from the French cabinet for an explanation of the significance of the actions of "the organisation styled as the Viet Nam National Congress." Bao Dai should be forgiven if he does not give a completely forthright answer, because to do so would imperil his annual retainer as Chief of State.

The simple and obvious explanation for the "revolt" of the Congress is that a Vietnamese politician when speaking in public—no matter what private deals he may have with the French—has to sound like a Vietnamese nationalist if he is not to be completely despised. It was particularly difficult for the pro-French element to show their true colours at the National Congress because among the delegates there were a few Tonkinese nationalists of the Dai Viet variety who, whatever their origin, are authentic nationalists, as anti-French as they are anti-Communist. The other embarrassing factor has been the demand of the Cambodians for independence. The Cambodians have always been considered gentle and backward compared with the Vietnamese. If they demand full independence, how can any Vietnamese politico do less?

The actions of the "National Congress" mark the explosive end of a pair of linked myths on which the West has based its whole political and military strategy in Indo-China. These now-exploded myths are:

1. That you can "prefabricate" a safe, anti-Communist Asian nationalism as a recruiting corps for anti-Communist troops.
2. That having "prefabricated" a "safe" nationalism you can expect to control it.

In the case of Viet Nam "prefabrication" means exactly what it says. It means that you select the materials for the job you have in hand; in this case people who will fight the Communists without fighting the French. They are expensive because while authentic Asian nationalists are often willing to fight and die for glory alone, "prefabricated" nationalists need gold as a substitute for idealism.

Thus, the Government of Viet Nam pays Bao Dai 120,000,000 piastres (£1,200,000 or US \$3,500,000) a year as Chief of State. This makes him three times as expensive as the British monarchy, over ten times as costly as the US



The Superior (or "Pope") of the Caodaist sect, with a French liaison officer

President and probably two thousand times as high-priced as his competitor, President Ho Chi Minh. Yet Bao Dai refuses to visit his capital of Saigon, which he professes to dislike, preferring to stay 175 miles away in his mountain retreat at Dalat, where the hunting is better. He has scarcely ever visited his troops—he is nominally Commander-in-Chief—in Tonkin. Yet the French insist that, as the former Emperor of Annam, he is "indispensable" as an internal symbol of the unity of the three *ky* (Tonkin, Annam and Cochinchina) and an external symbol for the outside world to "recognise."

Another "indispensable" element in the structure of "safe" Vietnamese nationalism is the "Pirate General," Le Van Vien, who has a dual command in the struggle against the Viet Minh. He commands some 5,000 men of the Army of the sect of Binh Xuyen who patrol the east bank of the river gateway to Saigon. But he is not paid a piastre—directly. Financial support comes from his second command: the "Grande Monde," Saigon's mammoth gambling casino. This concession was conferred upon him by Bao Dai himself. He is permitted to take a quarter of the 600,000 piastres which the Government earns every night in betting tax to "feed his troops."

An equally colourful and more important element in the defence of Viet Nam against Communism are the Caodaists. In 1948 a French official told me: "We cannot govern without them." Like everyone else, I had found it difficult to take the Caodai (literally, High Altar) seriously when I visited their capital at Tay-Ninh, 50 miles north of Saigon. Brightly coloured dragons climbed the columns in the beautiful cathedral devoted to worship of a combination of Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism, with Jesus Christ, Mohammed, Sun Yat Sen and Victor Hugo included as gods. The Caodaist "pope" or Superior, Pham Cong Tac, showed me how he receives messages from the "great beyond." Two priests put their hands on the handles of a *corbeille a bec* (a planchette) and the spirits

sent messages which were written by the brush in its nose. At the time the spirits seemed to write only in French, but I understand that with the growth of American influence the Caodai's spirit advisers learned to write English as well.

When I visited Tay-Ninh in 1948, the few Caodaist troops, who had been trained originally by the Japanese, were beginning to be re-trained for use against the Communists. Pre-war persecution by the French had made them pro-Japanese. But after Japan's defeat and the emergence of the Viet Minh, the Tay Ninh branch decided they needed French support. They even sent a band of volunteers to help suppress the rebellion in Madagascar. The French, with so little internal support, welcomed them. They even made Le Van Hoach, who had persecuted the French as Saigon's police commissioner under the Japanese the President of the Cochinchina puppet régime in 1947. His bodyguard consisted only of Caodaists.

By 1951 the Caodai claimed 50,000 troops, 8,000 of them equipped with rifles for operational use, and 12,000 auxiliaries. At present they are reported to have over 25,000 regular troops, more than an eighth of the troops serving on Bao Dai's side. In recognition of this the post of Deputy Premier has been given to Le Van Hoach.

Another colourful example of religious warlordism is provided by the primitive Hoa-Hao, with their famous companies of female warriors in black trousers and Arab-style head-dress. The Hoa-Hao claim to have—largely around Cantho—1,700,000 adherents of their religious sect which is a form of Buddhism "purified of superstition." They went over to the French after the Viet Minh executed their leader for "treachery." They contribute some 15,000 regular troops, under their own command.

The Hoa-Hao are not entirely admired by the other anti-Communists. In 1948 Nguyen Pham Long, the moderate editor of *Echo de Viet Nam* (and subsequently Bao Dai's Foreign Minister) wrote: "Employed as auxiliary troops, the armed bands which profess the (Hoa-Hao) religion founded by Huynh Phu So have no religion at all since the death of the latter. Turbulent and undisciplined, they commit exactions at the expense of the population which remain ignored and unpunished. Constituting a state within a state they abuse the autonomy which they enjoy in order to exercise in a most arbitrary manner an authority which they have usurped, arresting innocents whom they keep in prison illegally, raising taxes, pillaging and ransacking and thus working against the very order for which they are supposed to fight." Any effort to control their activities were thwarted by the French Army.

Not to be outdone by these upstart sects, the Vietnamese Catholics, particularly in the two areas of Phat Diem and Buichuu in Tonkin, have their own troops, although not more than 5,000 or so.

France's favourite religious army, however, are the "Military Units for the Defence of Christianity," with their device of a sword and a cross. These are com-



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manded by the 33-year-old Colonel Jean Leon Leroy. A former lieutenant in the French Army and the son of a French planter and his Vietnamese wife, Col. Leroy commands an army of about 15,000 men which has driven the Viet Minh from many miles of rich rice lands in the Mekong Delta. When Col. Leroy's crusaders find the Viet Minh, they bring back their heads on pikes.

This means that of the 200,000 regular Bao Dai forces facing the hardened regulars of Ho Chi Minh, fully a quarter are really hired warlords, including Catholic crusaders, feudal chieftains, freak religious minorities and aspiring gangsters. Except in the North, however, the French have not yet dared to call upon the authentic voices of right wing nationalism because they are as anti-French as they are anti-Communist.

Virtually all non-Communist groups in Viet-Nam are divided into three streams. First are the "collaborationist-nationalists," the mercenary and passive Vietnamese who look to the French (and the Americans) to supply and protect them—against the Viet Minh—in a painless transition to a formal independence which will preserve the *status quo* in Viet-Nam except that Vietnamese will occupy all the offices that the French now occupy. At the other extreme are the "fellow-travelling nationalists" who are willing to work with Ho Chi Minh and the Laodang (Communist) Party as the only means to throw out the French. In between are the *attentiste* (waiting) or "neutralist" nationalists who want to be dominated

neither by the Franco-Americans nor by the Chinese-supported Communists.

The leading figure among the "neutralist" nationalists is Ngo Dinh Diem. He is a leading, anti-Communist Catholic and brother of the Catholic Bishop, Monsignor Le Huu Tu. Ngo is virtually the only leading Vietnamese who is widely accepted as both anti-Communist and incorruptible, either by offers of money or position. He has repeatedly refused to accept any position in the Government until Viet Nam is as independent of France as India or Pakistan are independent of Britain. This attitude is found in other groups as well, notably the dissident Caodai who even have their own radio station, "The Voice of the National Resistance Front," which attacks both the Communists and the French and their Vietnamese stooges. It is significant that those elements in France who want to give Viet Nam a standing equivalent to dominion status hope to secure as Prime Minister the respected Ngo Dinh Diem in place of the notoriously pro-French Nguyen Van Tam, now Prime Minister.

Until now those Frenchmen like Foreign Minister Georges Bidault, who fear for the effect on North Africa of dominion status for Viet Nam, prefer to "play safe" with Bao Dai and Nguyen Van Tam, who will make demands when pressed by public opinion, but will never fight the French because their whole status and economic position is dependent upon French (and American) support.

This is neither cheap nor easy for the French. A large part of the now notorious "piastre traffic" whereby France spent hundreds of millions of francs to enable get-rich-quick specialists in Indo-China to transfer their piastres to France at inflated values was a disguised form of subsidy not only for colonial Frenchmen but also for these French-approved collaborationist nationalists. An official report of the Indo-China exchange control describes Bao Dai and his wife as among the first to benefit. As early as 1949 they transferred 175 million francs (£175,000) to Europe, buying a villa in Cannes and an estate in the Belgian Congo.

Although they take French money, the collaborationist-nationalists don't always return full value. Bao Dai even balks at officiating at state ceremonies despite his pay, and even religious warlords like the Caodai have to be cajoled into certain military operations by the French.

The fact is that these collaborationist-nationalists—who seek to replace the very colonial administration which called them into being—are too flabby to stand up without a stiffening of French troops. There is nobody acquainted with Indo-China who thinks that if the French troops go—unless they are replaced by Americans—that Bao Dai or Nguyen Van Tam will be around to bid them farewell. They certainly will have flown earlier.

It is worth recalling the injunction of Gen. Leclerc, who insisted that "anti-Communism in Asia is meaningless so long as the national problem has not been settled."

LEGAL REFORM IN INDIA

By Ajit Guin (Calcutta)

THE Agra session of the All India Congress Party in 1953 passed a resolution stating that "the present legal system is expensive and dilatory. It should be revised and made simpler, less costly and more expeditious so as also to serve the purpose and objectives of a Welfare State."

This resolution followed India's Home Minister Dr. K. N. Katju's declaration in Parliament last August that he was drafting a Legal Reform Bill which he hoped to get passed by April next year.

PANCHAYAT COURTS

To make justice cheap and prompt, the Indian Constitution directed the State governments to found traditional village Panchayats (village committees elected on adult franchise basis) which became almost extinct during the two hundred years of British rule. These village panchayats have now been revived in almost all the States with separate administrative and judicial branches. The judicial branch decides criminal cases.

There remains the difficulty of how to administer justice with representatives elected on a party basis, which has been criticised by the High Court judges. But the Panchayat Raj Act provides the panel system to curb any unhealthy influence on the administration of justice. In Uttar Pradesh alone, 911,885 cases were reported to have been settled by the panchayat courts from August, 1949, to March, 1953, out of which 35,599 cases were decided by compromise. Only 4.6 per cent of the cases moved to higher courts. This no doubt saved the poor village litigants enormous sums of money in paying transport costs, legal and other heavy court fees.

In cities and district towns, the judicial system is understaffed and overworked. In the Delhi Court 2,000 cases remain undecided each year. Of the 2,285 original civil law suits which remained undisposed in the Bombay High Court at the end of 1951, three were eleven years old and 1,433 ranged from two to nine years.

As a first step to lower the cost of justice, the court fees are to be lowered. An increase in the number of Judges may necessitate fewer adjournments and enable a more speedy disposal of cases.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE REFORM

Early this year the Federal government invited attention of the State governments to the desirability of revising the system of criminal justice. It depends at present on: (1) the Penal Code, (2) the Code of Criminal Procedure and (3) the Evidence Act. Most of the reforms contemplated intend to change the complex procedures in order to speed up the disposal of cases; others are of a fundamental nature. It is proposed that the onus should in certain cases shift to the defence. It is one of the conceptions of British

Jurisprudence that in Criminal Justice the "burden never shifts from the prosecution to the defence and that it is the obligation of the former to establish by legal evidence every essential element of the charge."

SEPARATION OF JUDICIARY AND EXECUTIVE

According to the Directive Principles of the Indian Constitution the Judiciary should be entirely separated from the Executive. Bombay State was the first state to put this directive principle into effect last July. Other States cannot enforce this separation right now for want of funds and adequate number of trained personnel.

PERJURY IS WIDESPREAD

Perjury in the law courts is widespread in India. This, we are told, is because the Evidence Act in its present form remains open to admit of fabrication. It is hoped that the village panchayat courts would stop perjury in due course. In fact, the village panchayat courts were organised to suppress perjury. When a villager gives evidence to a court far removed from his home and whose proceedings he rarely understands, he can easily distort facts without fear. But when he gives evidence in his village court where everybody is known to him, he will probably think twice before making false statements. Moreover, the government expects to modify the Evidence Act to suppress perjury.

THE JURY SYSTEM OF TRIAL

More and more the jury system of trial comes under criticism in this country. Judges criticise it because in most cases persons are found as jurors who cannot follow arguments, sift evidence and follow court procedures. In most places a single juror commands others and converts them to his view. Educated men are sometimes found as jurors in the big cities, but such persons are rare in district courts. Another difficulty is that in even serious murder cases jurors declare the convict "not guilty." Dr. Katju, the Home Minister, and Mr. C. C. Biswas, the Law Minister in the Indian Government do not think that the jury system, which the British introduced in this country back in 1781, failed in India. They want to revise it in the light of present conditions rather than to uproot it.

FREE LEGAL AID

The Federal government recently asked the State governments to consider if they could provide free legal aid to poor litigants in criminal cases only. Most of the State governments answered that their finances would not permit such aid. Only Bombay State appointed a committee to study this subject and promised to implement the report of this committee in stages as their funds would allow.

Independent legal aid centres run by the Bar Associations or groups of lawyers are rare in India and exist only in Bombay, Calcutta and Madras.

FORMOSA—FOR WHOM?

By Saul Rose

A POLITICAL settlement in the Far East involves the settlement of the problem of Formosa, which is perhaps even more difficult to resolve than Korea. The interest of Peking in Korea is similar to the interest of Moscow in the East European satellites, whereas Formosa calls in question the Peking regime itself. Peking's aim is, therefore, to eliminate the main centre of organised resistance to its supremacy.

This object is expressed in diplomatic parlance by the claim that Formosa is part of China which is now governed by Peking. The claim is supported by invoking the Cairo declaration of December, 1943, in which Britain, the USA and China stated their purpose that "all the territories that Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores shall be restored to the Republic of China."

Various arguments have been put forward in reply. One is that the Cairo declaration, which was reaffirmed at Potsdam, was simply a statement of intention and had no legally binding force. Another is that the declaration specified "the Republic of China" (i.e. the Chiang Kai-shek regime) not the Chinese People's Republic. A variant of the latter argument is that at the end of the war Formosa was in fact handed over to the administration of the Republic of China, so that the Cairo declaration was fulfilled. These diplomatic exchanges, however, do not touch the real issue.

There is one point on which Peking and the Kuomintang are in complete agreement—that Formosa is part of China. Their reasons are of course directly opposed. The Kuomintang insists because it is the basis of its claim to be the Government of China. Once the Chiang Kai-shek Government ceases to control any Chinese territory, the case for its continued recognition is undermined. Consequently, the USA and other countries which continue to recognise the Kuomintang régime are committed, explicitly or implicitly, to the view that Formosa is part of China. The inter-relation of these two factors presents an obstacle to the recognition of the Peking régime: there is a tendency to assume that the transfer of recognition from the Kuomintang to Peking involves the recognition of Peking's claim to Formosa and the disposal of Chiang Kai-shek and his followers.

The argument about the recognition of Peking has been flogged to death, and there is no point in reviving it here. There are precedents both ways, and it rests with individual governments to determine which precedent to follow. It is, however, already accepted by all concerned that a settlement in the Far East must be negotiated with Peking, and this virtually constitutes *de facto* recognition. Assuming that the Peking régime has come to stay, a lasting settlement will involve more formal recognition, including the admis-

sion of the Peking representatives to the United Nations on behalf of China.

It will not be easy for the USA and other countries to reconcile themselves to the recognition of Peking, but the hard facts of the situation may persuade them—provided that it does not involve handing over Formosa to Peking. The Chinese Communists, on the other hand, cannot be expected to reconcile themselves to the maintenance of the Kuomintang régime in Formosa as a rival Chinese Government threatening to attack the mainland and harrying shipping. They will also be reluctant to renounce the claim to Formosa as part of Chinese territory. If there is to be a settlement, it will be necessary to adjust these viewpoints.

Looking first at the Chinese Communists' position, the existing situation of Chiang Kai-shek ensconced in Formosa and supported and supplied by the USA cannot be regarded by them with equanimity. They must realise that, however confident they might be about dealing with the Kuomintang alone, they cannot hope to do so while the Kuomintang is backed by the USA. From the viewpoint of Peking, the two-way neutralisation of Formosa by Truman must have been very much preferable to the one-way neutralisation by Eisenhower, even though the latter has in practice amounted to much the same thing. It would be better still, from their point of view, if, in addition to two-way neutralisation of Formosa, they could obtain recognition by the USA and others as the Government of China.

So long as the Korean war continued, the USA could not be expected to transfer recognition from the Kuomintang to Peking. The Chinese Communist intervention in Korea naturally put a stop even to consideration of the idea. Now that a truce has been achieved and a political settlement has to be envisaged, the question will have to be further considered—if only because of the Peking claim to representation in the UN. Although the question has been postponed for a year, it cannot be put off indefinitely. But if Formosa is regarded as part of China, recognition of Peking involves under international law an obligation not to assist those who forcibly contest the authority of that government. At present the USA is wedded to Chiang Kai-shek: would she contemplate divorce, or at least judicial separation?

There are two main obstacles. One is that such a step would appear to set the seal on the Communist victory in China. But this is to confuse the form with the reality. The USA refused to recognise the Soviet Government for 16 years. It probably did harm: it certainly did no good: and it did not alter the facts. If the Peking régime has established itself, as all the evidence indicates, recognition or non-recognition will not alter that fact.

If, however, recognition of Peking meant automatic

extension of its authority to Formosa, that would alter the existing situation, particularly in its strategic aspects. This is the other main obstacle; but it tends to be exaggerated. In 1949 the US Government estimated that Formosa could not be held without the use of American forces, and the assumption was that the island would probably fall during 1950. The position was altered in 1950 by the Korean war and the neutralisation of Formosa; but up to that time, according to the US Secretary of State, the strategic importance of Formosa called for keeping it out of the hands of an unfriendly power and not for occupation or the use of Formosa by the USA. If there is a settlement in Korea, it should be possible to revert to this estimate of Formosa's strategic importance—which would be met by its neutralisation.

The USA cannot be expected to re-assume the whole burden of a two-way neutralisation of Formosa—nor would it be desirable. If there is to be a settlement of the problem of Formosa, it must be international, not unilateral. Neutralisation would have to be under some form of international control. It is not necessary to specify in

advance precisely what form that control would take. What can be said is that, in the interest of an agreed settlement by neutralisation, Britain as one of the leading naval powers should be ready to participate and share the burden.

At Cairo and Potsdam it was possible to take for granted the transfer of Formosa from Japan to China. Chiang Kai-shek was then the undisputed and universally acknowledged Chinese leader—even by the Communists. He has since fallen a long way from that position, and the Formosans have had a period of first-hand experience of Kuomintang administration. Both these factors may have affected their attachment to Chiang Kai-shek, though not necessarily in favour of Peking. The people of Formosa should be given the opportunity freely to express their preference for either Peking or the Kuomintang—or for neither. It will not be an easy task to create the conditions for free expression, but it should not be impossible given a period during which Formosa is removed from the centre of the arena of international politics by neutralisation. The question "Formosa for whom?" will then be for the Formosans to answer.

COLONY OF SARAWAK

By Kenelm Digby



Sea Dyak women, wearing beautiful examples of traditional silver jewellery

ON July 1st, 1953, Sarawak celebrated her seventh birthday as a British Colony. It is time to ask whether her new status is depriving her peoples of the special advantages which they enjoyed under the rule of the Brooke family in the days of independence.

For there was something very attractive about the old Sarawak, even though some of the problems which arose, and some of the more eccentric inconsistencies of high policy which occurred, often drove the exasperated official to wonder whether

Mr. K. H. Digby, Companion of the Star of Sarawak, stayed in Sarawak from 1934 up to his retirement in 1952. During that time he served in turn as administrative officer, Legal Adviser, Attorney-General and Circuit Judge.

his life's work would not provide a promising plot for a Savoy opera. Racial relations were probably more harmonious than in any other plural society in the Empire. Outside the Government service, and the staff of Sarawak Oilfields Ltd. at Miri in the north-east corner of the country, there were very few Europeans to be seen. The most numerous race was, and is, the Sea Dyaks, who live for the most part in the up-river areas away from the main towns, and seldom on the coast in spite of their name.

Sarawak had been acquired by the Brookes from the Sultan of Brunei by virtue of a series of cessions, and one outright seizure, dating from September, 1841, so that the original aristocracy of the country was, like the Sultan, Malay. To some extent, therefore, it was inevitable that, under the Brookes, the

Malays should have become a privileged race. Their religion, Mohammedanism, was protected and respected, all the principal native advisers in the councils of Government were Malays, and only Malay and European magistrates sat in the ordinary courts.

Apart from the Malays and Sea Dayaks there are at least a dozen other races officially considered to be indigenous to the country, and accordingly entitled to such special rights as the law confers on "natives." Each of these races has its own language and its own customary laws, and some are so sub-divided that persons from one village cannot understand the tongue spoken by other members of their race living in another village a few miles away.

Notwithstanding that the Chinese have inhabited Borneo for many hundreds of years, the Brooke regime insisted on treating them as aliens, whether or not they were new immigrants and whether or not they could prove that their family had lived in Sarawak for several generations. On the whole the Chinese welcomed the 1946 cession to the British Crown because they thought that it would end this sort of discrimination, but their expectations have not been realised. The Government now tries to draw a hard and fast line between those who are technically British subjects and those who are not, but, broadly speaking, this distinction is neither respected nor acknowledged by them. They regard themselves as Chinese who happen to live and earn their

bread in, and contribute to the wealth of, Sarawak, and so as good as the next man to whatever race he may belong.

It is a great tribute to the Rajahs Brooke that this heterogeneous collection of peoples lived and worked side by side with scarcely any racial discord at all. The Dayaks were often aggressive, the Chinese were generally aggrieved, the Malays were inclined to be arrogant, and the Europeans had not altogether discarded that superiority complex which troubles other dependent territories, but there was certainly less of a colour problem than there is in London today.

There were exclusive European clubs in Kuching, the capital, and in Sibü and Miri, but in other places Asians were amongst the members of any club to which Europeans belonged. A marriage between a European woman and an Asian man might have been regarded as odd, but marriages between European men and Asian women were not uncommon. The mission schools were attended by children of all races, though there were also separate schools for Malays and Chinese but not, at any rate outside the Miri oilfield, for Europeans.

Perhaps one of the reasons for this satisfactory state of affairs was that the different races did not tend to compete against one another economically. The Europeans almost monopolised the executive positions in Government and industry, while the Chinese were traders and market gardeners. The Malays, the Dayaks, and other native races were for the most part farmers and hunters, growing rice and vegetables, and catching fish and shooting wild animals for their own sustenance, and tapping small family rubber gardens to obtain the money to purchase their other requirements in the Chinese bazaars.

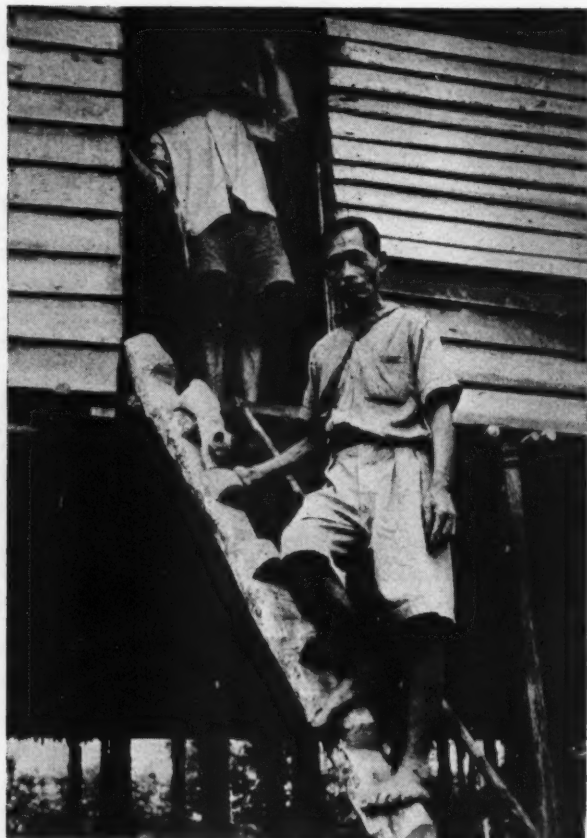
Although rubber was Sarawak's leading export, the most important industrial concern was the undertaking of Sarawak Oilfields Ltd. at Miri. The Borneo Company Ltd., with a very long association with Sarawak, was the principal exporter and importer, and there were a few minor European enterprises such as the Island Trading Company which processed and exported cutch. Labour was contributed by various Asian races, particularly the Chinese, Dayaks and Malays.

The chief reason for the country's happiness was, however, the benign nature of "Brooke Rule." Sir Charles Vyner Brooke was the last benevolent despot the world is likely to see. Like his father and his great-uncle before him, he was a supreme autocrat. The Brookes hated and fought racial prejudice and antagonism. They were just, firm and kindly to all peoples alike, whatever the colour of their skin or their length of residence in the country.

In particular, the tradition of "personal access" established by the first Rajah, Sir James Brooke, was faithfully followed by his successors. In theory any person in the country with a request to make or a grievance to air, especially if he was a "native," could visit the Rajah and secure a hearing at any hour of the day or night. In practice, of course, the petitioner had to exercise a little discretion in choosing a time for his call, but it remained true that, always if he had a genuine reason for wanting to see the Rajah and often if his reason was merely bogus, the Rajah would see him, and all administrative officers in the Government service were expected to follow this royal example.

Government and administration were very simple and informal. The laws were few, easy to understand, and flexible in the sense that, whatever their letter said, they were seldom intended to be applied in all places and all circumstances. Justice was dispensed by lay magistrates unfettered by rules of evidence and procedure.

There was, of course, another side to the coin. The country was poor, education was hopelessly inadequate and medical services were very scarce. Agriculture was primitive and the Government did little to improve matters. The administration of justice was unsatisfactory because no amount of sincerity and integrity is sufficient compensation for the absence of legal knowledge and practical training, although occasionally it is popular to maintain otherwise.



Land Dyaks. Less numerous than the Sea Dyaks, they lead a similar sort of existence, but are more indolent and less independent, particularly where they have been in contact with Europeans

The state of Sarawak under the Brookes may fairly be described as idyllic on the surface but a little murky if one peered underneath. But the fact remains that the Brookes consciously and skilfully avoided the worst evils associated with imperialism. The problem before the new Colonial Government has been how to bring to the Sarawak peoples the knowledge and material benefits of the modern world without sacrificing those privileges which the Brookes had conferred on them.

It is perhaps early in the day to hazard a firm opinion, but there is at least hope that slowly and steadily the problem will be solved. The new Government has had some disappointments to contend with. The oil in Miri is drying up and the headquarters of the industry have been shifted to Seria, in the protected state of Brunei, where a very rich field is being developed. The gold-fields round Bau, about thirty miles from Kuching, have not fulfilled their early promise, and are now largely derelict. No other really important mineral deposits have been discovered although bauxite is now being obtained near Lundu at the westerly end of the country.

On the other hand, rubber has maintained a high price until recently, pepper growing has begun to recover from the disastrous slump of the 'thirties, and, through the energy and enterprise of the Forestry Department of the Government, a good deal of timber is being exported by private undertakings, particularly to the Australian market.

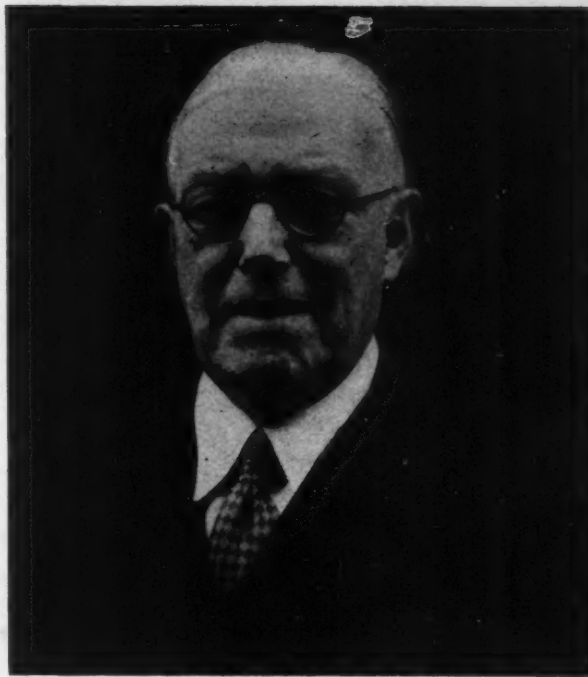
Political events in neighbouring territories have had little direct effect in Sarawak, but their indirect effect must not be underestimated. Together with the Japanese occupation they have inspired a political consciousness which did not exist under the Brookes, and perhaps they have made the authorities unduly suspicious of demands for political reforms and of the more enthusiastic advocates of social progress.

Medical services have been strengthened and improved, and the institution of "travelling dispensaries," in shallow boats which can reach far up-river, manned by trained "dressers," has brought medical assistance to the doors of people who in former days would have had to journey for hours, and in some cases for days, to a Government station. The Education Department has likewise been expanded beyond recognition. The Dayaks have been encouraged to build and equip their own schools. A great new teachers' training centre has been created at Batu Lintang, two miles from Kuching, on the site of the old Japanese prison camp, and schemes for adult education in the interior have been planned and carried out by eager officers.

The same story is repeated in the Agricultural Department, where a particularly progressive and able Director, assisted by trained and qualified subordinates, has attempted to reform the staple industry of the country. Agriculture in Sarawak is, however, so primitive and backward, most of the rice being grown by the wasteful system of "shifting cultivation," that in this sector at any rate there is still a very steep hill to climb.

The administration of justice has been substantially improved. The magistrates have been compelled to pay more attention to the letter of the law and to place less reliance on their own "common sense," which, when unlit by learning, is a treacherous counsellor. In 1948 trained and qualified judges were appointed to the highest courts of first instance, and at the end of 1951 a new Supreme Court of British Borneo, catering for the three territories, Sarawak, Brunei and North Borneo, was created by Order in Council.

The Malays have virtually ceased to be a privileged race. The leaders they produce nowadays owe their position in the main to superior education and ability, although the easy way up the ladder, which consists of being born into the right family, has not yet wholly disappeared. The Sea Dayaks are a vigorous and progressive people, and are being deliberately encouraged by the Government to come to the front. There are more Europeans about than there were, but colour prejudice is as rare, and the colour bar as faint, as before. The relations between the various Asian peoples remain cordial.



Sir Charles Vyner Brooke

The general method of administration is the same as it was under the Brookes. The country is divided into five Divisions, over each of which there is a Resident. A Division consists of a number of Districts under District Officers, a few of whom are now natives. Crown Colony status has, of course, immensely complicated the work of these officers. The Secretariat in Kuching employs approximately four times as many people as it did before the war.

It must be admitted that the increasing complexity of administration has tended to make Government more remote from the people. The rule that administrative officers must be personally accessible has not been abandoned, but in practice it has been much modified. The District Officer, however, still remains the hub of the whole machine. He still speaks Malay fluently, and Sea Dayak, usually, well. He still travels his District and thereby brings administration to the people instead of waiting for them to come to him. In essentials his job has not altered, and it can at least be doubted whether the ordinary citizen feels that authority is less sympathetic and more unfriendly than it used to be.

Looking at the whole picture it may be said that the new Sarawak has set her feet on the right road. For this no little gratitude is due to her first Governor, Sir Charles Arden Clarke, who arrived in 1946 knowing nothing at all about the country and left in 1949 amidst many reciprocal expressions of affection. His greatest achievement was the institution and encouragement of local self-government through representative councils, but he was careful to avoid the appearance of being an excessively energetic new broom. In such little matters as the retention of the name "Astana" for what, in other Colonies, would be Government House, the restoration of the long service medal, unknown to British Colonial practice but traditionally dear to the hearts of Sarawak public servants, and the celebration of the Rajah's birthday as a public holiday, the Government has shown that in planning for Sarawak's future it is willing to respect her past.

British Council Reception

Far Eastern Fellows and Scholars studying in the United Kingdom under UN auspices had an opportunity of meeting colleagues from many other countries, British officials and representatives of unofficial organisations which play an active part in arranging courses, at a lively and crowded reception given by the British Council on the eve of United Nations Week.

Lord Salisbury, Lord President of the Council, drew warm applause by his insistence that by far the most important part of their stay in this country was the opportunity it gave for better understanding between peoples. There was much cordial comment on his suggestion that, by building up such relationships and taking back happy memories of England, the visitors would be giving flesh and blood to the idea of the United Nations.

Malayan Reception

The Commissioner for Malaya, Raja Sir Uda bin Raja Mohamed and Istri, gave a reception at Overseas House on November 12th in honour of the High Commissioner, General Sir Gerald Templer, and his Deputy, Sir Donald MacGillivray, who are on a short visit to Britain. The guests included many Malaysians and friends of Malaya.

China Society

At the annual meeting of the China Society, Lady Whyte was again re-elected Chairman, with Colonel Kenneth Cantlie as Vice-Chairman and Mrs. S. H. Hansford and Mr. S. I. Hsiung as Honorary Secretaries. Four vacancies on the Council were filled by Dr. L. Grier, former head of the British Council in China, and Mrs. R. M. Day, who was on her staff there, Mr. H. McAleavy of the British Museum and Mr. E. G. Pulleybank, Cambridge University.

In her address Lady Whyte announced

that in the next twelve months the Society planned to make available to wider audiences the occasional talks and lectures which have so far been given at selective luncheon meetings.

Japan Society

The Japan Society, in a review of Coronation Year published in the latest issue

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of its bulletin, describes it as a red letter period in the history of the Society because of the very large number of distinguished Japanese guests, headed by the Crown Prince, which the Society has been able to welcome to Britain. At this month's meeting Professor Kazuo Enoki, of Tokyo University, gave an historical survey of the development of the Japanese Empire.

China and S.E. Asia

At a meeting called by the Sino-British Cultural Association, Professor D. G. E. Hall, of the University of London, spoke of the influence exerted by China throughout the centuries on South-East Asia. He expressed the view that at the peak period of their expansion in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the Chinese were a sea-going people, able to make their influence felt as far afield as Madagascar. They had also promoted a policy of fragmentation in the lands in which they secured a footing because of their conviction that their culture was superior, but were frustrated by the growth of European sea-power.

Of the present and the future Professor Hall advanced the view that any tendency

by the Chinese communities to foster a policy of fragmentation in the countries where they were settled would be countered by the growth of nationalist feeling in those countries. "Throughout two thousand years," he commented, "there has been one influence which has always emerged supreme. This is the indigenous cultures of the areas themselves."

Colombo Plan

One speaker on Far Eastern affairs in the past few weeks had a much larger audience than usual. He was Mr. Geoffrey Wilson, who has just returned after two years as director of the Colombo Plan Technical Cooperation Bureau, and his talk was given in the BBC home service. He made a determined attempt to clear up any misconceptions about the Colombo Plan as a whole. In particular he declared: "The impression is sometimes given that without foreign assistance very little would be happening. This is nonsense, and it can be dangerous nonsense. The impetus and driving force come from the Asian countries themselves."

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Mardi and Manis at home (Children's Film Foundation)

Films from Indonesia

A film called "Mardi and the Monkey" was produced and directed in Indonesia by Miss Kay Manders of Peregrine Film Productions for the Children's Film Foundation, and shown in London at the end of October. The film was made with the cooperation of the Indonesian Government and with a team of Indonesian technicians. All the actors were drawn from among the people of the little West Java village of Segalaherang.

The film will be available for showing to children all over Britain, and its simple story should help to give them a better understanding of what life is like for their counterparts in a very different section of the globe. Mardi has a pet monkey, Manis, which steals a puppet from a travelling showman. Mardi is horrified, and sets out with Manis to return the puppet, but on his way back gets lost in the jungle. A search party, led by his father and brothers, is guided to him by Manis, and all ends well.

ASIAN SURVEY

INDIA

There is a certain amount of alarm in India that Pakistan will agree with the United States to become a senior member of a Middle Eastern defence pact. No one in India likes the manner in which the United States has wooed Pakistan to Washington and discussed armament and defence matters which will inevitably concern India, without informing India of what has been going on. Mr. Nehru, in commenting on the situation, has said that any agreement of the kind which the American press seems to envisage would have far-reaching consequences for the whole of South Asia.

The Prime Minister also had some stringent things to say about Pakistan's proposed change of constitution—her desire to become an "Islamic Republic." He was concerned about the position of the minorities, and he regretted, as a friend of Pakistan, such a step, which he regarded as of medieval conception and totally opposed to democracy.

BURMA

The evacuation of the agreed 2,000 Nationalist Chinese marauders in the north-east was continued throughout last month, and the Burmese authorities have given the Nationalists until the tenth of this month (December) to complete the move. There will still be a very large number of troops left behind, and it is thought in Burma that the Nationalists have planned it that way so that illicit operations can still be carried on. In support of this theory, the Burmese supervisors last month stopped the evacuation of about 40 Shan tribesmen across the border into Siam whom the Nationalists were trying to repatriate instead of their own troops.

INDONESIA

In an effort to overcome the lowering of the price of rubber by the United States, a trade mission from

Indonesia is in Peking to try to bring off a deal whereby China would buy large quantities of rubber under the terms of the general trade agreement existing between Indonesia and China.

PHILIPPINES

Mr. Ramon Magsaysay, one-time Minister of Defence in President Quirino's Liberal Cabinet, was elected President last month by the overwhelming majority of one and a half million votes. He stood as candidate for the Nacionalista Party who adopted him when he left the Liberals earlier this year. He is a young and able man noted for his stand against the sort of corruption which has been prevalent for a number of years in Filipino politics. He will not assume office until the beginning of next year. The Nacionalistas also won, by over a million votes, the Vice-Presidential seat, which will be occupied by Mr. Carlos Garcia, and the eight vacant Senate seats.

During the election campaign there were a few disorders in the more remote parts and some people were killed, but on the whole the campaign and the actual voting were carried out in the most orderly fashion.

After the elections Quirino said in a broadcast that "the people's verdict should be accepted for the sake of national unity." The new president said that the people had shown an "overwhelming expression of confidence in our cause," and had "ensured that our free institutions will survive and flourish for generations."

JAPAN

Mr. Okazaki, the Foreign Minister, has said that the new plan for defence would "assume concrete form" this month (December). Before the American Mutual Security Agency can conclude a definite settlement on aid the Government must present a programme for defence. The National Security Board are planning to set up a national security council and a joint chiefs of staff organisation. It is intended that the security council would be presided over by the Prime Minister and will include key ministers, such as those for Transport,

Construction, Trade and Industry. A staff security council will also be formed which will have the task of coordinating ground, sea and air forces.

The Minister of Trade has said that the Japanese Government "thinks it highly desirable that trade with Communist China be expanded within the bounds fixed by the United Nations."

CEYLON

It was reported last month that the Prime Minister, Sir John Kotelawala, in a note to Lord Soulbury, the Governor-General, explaining why the Union Jack should not be flown and the British National Anthem not played at official functions, had said: "Although Ceylon is an independent country now, there are three points which the people of Ceylon are unable to understand. First, why in this free land should there be a foreign Governor-General? Second and third: Why should there be an English flag and an English National Anthem in Ceylon? The second and third have been suitably dealt with, which may kindly be taken note of."

The Prime Minister has since denied that his note said any such thing and he said that the report received in London was a travesty of what he had written. "It is preposterous," he said, "for anyone to suggest that relations are not of the friendliest between the Governor-General and myself." There has, up to the time of writing, been no such reassurance from Lord Soulbury.

CHINA

There were celebrations in many towns on the seventh of last month to mark the 36th anniversary of the Russian October revolution. The occasion was used to emphasise again the need for close friendship between China and Russia. Much was also made of the large amount of equipment and aid given to China by the Soviet Union. Reiteration of how close the bonds between Russia and China are, and how necessary friendship with Russia is, seem to suggest that it has become essential to constantly remind the people of China lest they forget.

FROM ALL QUARTERS

India Gets U.S. Grant

The United States Government has made a grant of \$5 million to India, to be used mainly on an educational programme. This sum will be made available out of interest payable by India on the \$190 million wheat loan granted by America in 1951. Out of the interest by now already accrued, the United States will supply Indian universities with books and laboratory equipment. There will also be an exchange of scholars and scientists between the two countries.

U.S. to Cut Aid to Asia?

Senator Allen J. Ellender said in Washington last month that "the British are spreading propaganda . . . that the United States is too young and too immature to lead the world." Senator Ellender was making his trip as a "one-man subcommittee" for the Senate Appropriations Committee to United States diplomatic posts in various countries. He said that his journey, which covered parts of Asia, Australia and New Zealand, convinced him that millions of dollars could be saved on America's foreign programmes.

Burmese Payments to Britain

A recent Burmese announcement said that all outstanding financial questions between Burma and Britain have been settled through "friendly understanding and a spirit of accommodation." Burma has agreed to pay Britain approximately £7 million compensation for British assets which were taken over when Burma attained independence in 1947. Britain has accepted roughly £4 million as a down payment.

Japanese Trade with East Africa

The first Japanese Consul in East Africa since the war, Mr. Kanji Kaneko, recently took up his appointment. He said that Japan was anxious to increase her trade with the East African territories, and that she would like to buy more raw cotton, sisal and soda. The East African Government have decided to lift part of the embargo on Japanese textiles, and it is possible that other concessions may be made later.

A Gold Plated Bicycle

A British firm has made a bicycle plated with 18 carat gold as a birthday present for the son of a wealthy Indian merchant. The bicycle cost £200.

Australian Parliament Opened

At the opening of the second session of Australia's 20th Parliament last month, the Governor-General, Sir William Slim, said that Parliament would be prorogued at the end of the present sitting and the next session would be opened by the Queen. The Australian Government, he added, would work with other Governments for a nego-

tiated and permanent settlement of the Korean problem so that the armistice might become a real peace. It was indeed good that the Korean conflict had been confined to Korea and that a wider and more devastating disaster had been averted.

Sir William said that peace could eventually be secured in a real sense only by patient and honest endeavours to remove the causes of misunderstanding and conflict. It was this basic truth which had impelled the Australian Government to take the initiative in the Colombo Plan and to continue its support of the United Nations and its specialised agencies, with particular emphasis on South-East Asia.

Textile Training Centre in Pakistan

Books and equipment worth £137,000 have been offered by the British Government for a textile training centre to be set up at Lyallpur, Pakistan. The British offer, which includes the provision of United Kingdom experts to train the Pakistan personnel who eventually will take over teaching and managerial posts at the training centre, has been accepted by the Pakistan Government. The cost of providing this training staff, estimated at more than £50,000, will also be borne by the British Government.

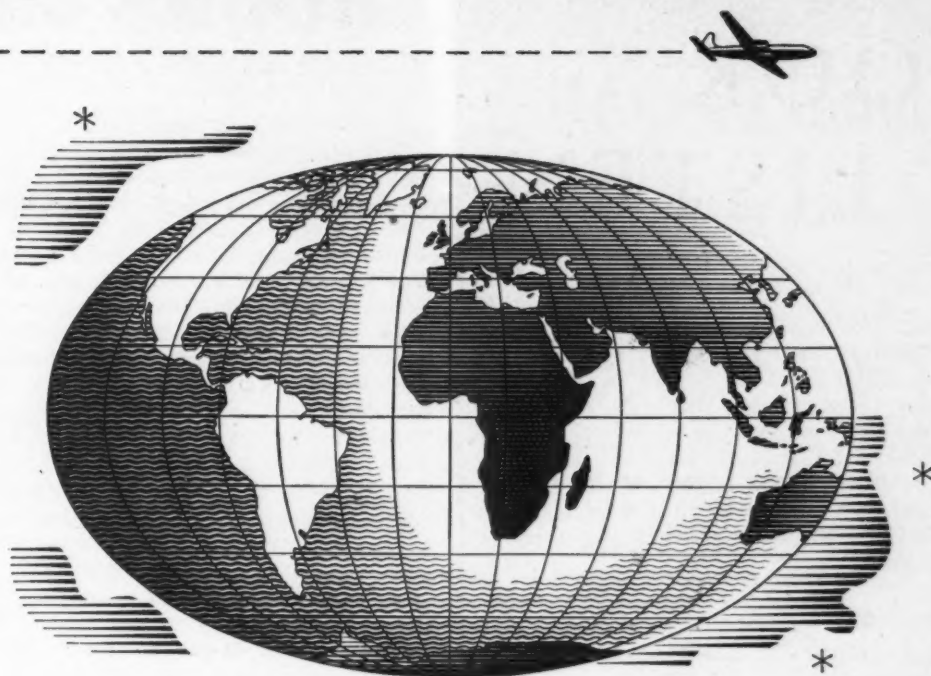
The gift will include equipment for a teaching wing where theoretical instruction will be given, while for practical work a small operational plant will be constructed. The British Government has promised to have the equipment ready for installation as soon as the buildings at Lyallpur are ready to accommodate it. The purpose of the centre is to train supervisors and instructors who will in turn train operatives in individual mills.

Rebuilding Korea—Dr. Syngman Rhee's Plans

An investigating team of the American House of Representatives, which recently returned from Korea, reports that the complex problem of Korean reconstruction was not being made any easier by President Syngman Rhee's own strongly held ideas. The chairman of the team, Representative Charles Brownson, said that Dr. Rhee's "insistence on building memorials to his administration" was a stumbling block in the way of rebuilding the country. Mr. Brownson said that President Rhee visualised a new Capitol in Seoul, a "super" highway, "Motel" chains and the building of the world's largest radio transmitter at Seoul. The American investigators are worried about the economic consequences if such non-productive projects are undertaken. At the same time, the President's views cannot be ignored, since the United States in dealing with the Republic of Korea is treating with a sovereign state and an ally.

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BOOKS on the

Questions of East and West by G. F. HUDSON (*Odham's*, 15s.)

This collection of eighteen essays, with the sub-title of "Studies in Current History," covers diverse territory, with excursions into the past and into the realms of philosophy. Only the last eight articles, however, deal with Asia. There are, perhaps, few writers on current affairs who are as competent and superficially convincing as Mr. Hudson. But when one probes beneath the highly polished surface, it is clear that Mr. Hudson has some lamentable ideas. One of the most extraordinary is that the Russians—indeed, all Communists—have a diplomatic artfulness and cunning which has led western policy makers to back the wrong horses and take decisions which have been near disastrous. Mr. Hudson firmly believes, for instance, that when Molotov told US General Hurley in 1945 that Stalin regarded Mao Tse-tung and his followers merely as agrarian malcontents and that the real saviour of China was Chiang Kai-shek, the Kremlin was pulling a fast one which was fundamental in causing the downfall of the Chinese Nationalists and the failure of United States policy in China. And yet we have evidence from Dedijer that Stalin confessed to Tito and the Yugoslav leaders that he had tried to convince Mao to throw in his lot with Chiang, which Mao would not do. On the completion of the revolution in China, Stalin admitted that he was wrong and that Mao was right.

Mr. Hudson is a vociferous supporter of George Kennan's policy of containment in Asia, and thinks that a decisive victory for the United Nations in Korea would have averted a possible third world war, or helped the west to win it if there were one. He thinks within a psychological framework of one side against another, and shows little patience with the "neutralist policies" of India and Burma.

The essays are a curious mixture of erudition and acceptance, without question, of popular facts. The study of the spiritual crisis in Asia contained in the essay "Why Asians Hate the West" is very perceptive and contributes some useful original thought to the subject, but in contrast we have the article on the *Amerasia* espionage case which took place in the US in 1945, which is no more than a rehash of popular American magazine stories of the affair.

J. W. T. COOPER

Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia by GEORGE MCTURNAN KAHIN (*Cornell University Press, London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, 48s.*)

This volume is the outcome of a year's study in Indonesia during 1948-49, followed by research over a considerable period, and is published under the auspices of the Institute of Pacific Relations and of the South-East Asia Programme of Cornell University, where Dr. Kahin is Assistant Professor of Government. It is based on personal observation as well as on numerous talks with people

FAR EAST

of all classes and shades of opinion and gives one the impression of a completely judicial summing up without political bias.

None the less the summing up is presented in a vivid manner, especially the chapters describing the great climax which came after the leaders of the nationalist movement, having played their cards with great skill and built up a fairly good army without undue collaboration with the Japanese invaders, decided to declare their country free. That the Indonesian leaders, some of them working behind the scenes, should have achieved so much despite their lack of trained administrators and over the scattered islands of their vast archipelago is really remarkable. But one has to admit that there were certain favourable factors, such as the sense of oneness after centuries of rule as a unit under the Dutch and the common desire to end the old régime.

In the account of that régime given by Dr. Kahin the facts speak for themselves and no comment is called for. They suggest that Indonesia was administratively at about the stage India experienced 100 years ago. The fact that in 1938-39, 457 Europeans and Eurasians graduated from High Schools in Indonesia as against 204 Indonesians, that a good education was very difficult to obtain for an Indonesian child, that Indonesians could only have recourse to certain courts and Europeans to others, that the Dutch discouraged the rise of an Indonesian professional class, these make one wonder what age the former rulers of the country dreamed they were living in. And they explain the great shortage of trained men for responsible positions today.

ARGUS

Jungle Lore by JIM CORBETT (*Oxford University Press*, 10s. 6d.)

For those who have already enjoyed the three earlier books of Jim Corbett's, there will be no disappointment in this latest story of India's jungles. This master hunter has given us a series of jungle detective stories which confirm him to be one of the most entertaining writers alive today.

It would be necessary for the reader to spend a lifetime in Indian jungles in order to acquire the knowledge and experience which has befallen Jim Corbett, so that it is all the more fortunate that this experience can now be shared by the reader.

Corbett has absorbed all that is best out of his life in India—and has done as he now advises others to do: "Open the book of nature where you will, and at any period of your life, and if you have the desire to acquire knowledge you will find it of intense interest, and no matter how long or how intently you study the pages your interest will not flag, for in nature there is no finality."

R. DENTON WILLIAMS

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The State of Asia by LAWRENCE K. ROSINGER AND ASSOCIATES (*Allen & Unwin, 45s.*)

As Mr. William L. Holland, Vice-Chairman of the American Institute of Pacific Relations, points out in his foreword, the tendency today, particularly in the United States, is to think of the Eastern nations mainly in relation to the way in which they align themselves in the political arena. But these alignments are of secondary importance when it comes to studying the deeply rooted forces in Asia—forces which existed long before the Soviet-American rivalry became acute, and will remain even if those rivalries come to an end.

This volume, then, attempts to inform the outside world just what has happened and is happening today

inside Asia and to give some account of the aims and aspirations of the Asian peoples. It is limited to the fields of economics, politics and social changes and gives in broad outlines history of the upheavals which have touched practically the whole of Asia.

Numerous contributors have collaborated in this study, all American and all specialists in their particular field. The result is a good factual survey of the present situation in Asia, covering not only events after the Second World War but also giving necessary wartime and pre-war background. The only drawback in a reference work of this nature is that it only covers events up to 1950, but apart from this, it constitutes a valuable and comprehensive handbook of Asian affairs.

S. N. C.

REVIEW OF REVIEWS

JUST at this time when politics in the Philippines under the new President, Ramon Magsaysay, look set for a much calmer passage than has been prevalent in the last few years, it is enlightening to read of the background of political struggle over the last two decades which puts the recent events into perspective. There are two good articles to hand which, although they double on each other a little, together present a comprehensive picture.

Charles O. Houston writes the first of a series of articles in the *Journal of East Asiatic Studies* (Manila, July, 1953) on "The Philippine Commonwealth." He covers the years 1934 to 1946, and there emerges from his study the dominating personality of President Quezon. People are too ready to assume that the issue of land reform is a post-war phenomenon, but, as Mr. Houston

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points out, "discontent and murmurings arose from all corners of the nation increasing steadily, in fact, from 1934 to 1941." It was one of the weaknesses of Quezon and his Government that the depths of the discontent in rural areas was never understood.

Under the wing of Quezon and his Vice-President, Osmena, there thrived a personality who was to become the first President of the Republic of the Philippines—Manuel Roxas. Marcial P. Lichauco, in his article "Roxas and Philippine Independence," published in *India Quarterly* (Delhi, July-Sept., 1953), starts way back beyond his subject with the execution by the Spanish of the nationalist Jose Rizal in 1896. The career of Roxas himself was clear cut, and it must have been obvious to anyone who watched his leadership develop in the 'thirties that he would one day become the head of state. It is unfortunate that Mr. Lichauco does not tell us anything of Roxas during his two years as President before his death in 1948: what Roxas's private ideas on land reform were, for instance, and his views on the economic grip of the United States. The article is too heavily weighted with pre-Roxas history, which is a pity.

Pakistan has now declared its intention to become an "Islamic Republic." Exactly what it means for a Muslim majority country to embrace Islam completely is ably explained by A. K. Nazmul-Karim in his article, in *The Muslim World* (Hartford, Connecticut, October, 1953), "Pakistan and the Islamic State." The author discusses some of the basic issues and conditions attaching to the concept of an Islamic State and poses some questions. As an Islamic State, Pakistan must find the solutions to its problems in the context of Islam and by that criterion. There should be no confusion of a Muslim and an Islamic State, the former merely being one with a Muslim population majority and Muslim-controlled Government, but one not absolutely inspired by Islamic ideals. The author goes on to examine how the conception of Islam can deal with economics, politics, church, religion, democracy and totalitarianism in a modern state.

One of the problems that Pakistan will have to consider very urgently is the huge food deficit. "Pakistan and the Food Problem" by Sir William P. Barton in *The Fortnightly* (London, October, 1953) gives a factual account of the situation, relating food to other problems such as industrialisation: "weighing the rival claims of town and countryside against each other."

An argument has been going on in India about agricultural production and how it can be increased. A recommendation by the conference of States and Centre Agriculture Ministers that the imposition of ceilings on land holdings should not be allowed to hamper agricultural production has been challenged as being contrary to the principle and policy of the Congress plan. *The Eastern Economist* (Delhi, October 23rd, 1953) in an article "Land Reform—A New Approach?" examines both sides of the question and brings to light some factors pertinent to agrarian reform in India.

People's China, the fortnightly magazine published in English by the Foreign Languages Press in Peking, has become more readable since it has ceased to devote over half its space to the subject of germ warfare. It is well produced and the pictures are excellent, but the articles are too eulogistic to be really convincing. One trouble is the over-use of hackneyed adjectives. Soldiers are nearly always "heroic," children and students are "happy," workers are often "model," and so on, but the cultural articles are usually very good and worth reading. The one on Mei Lan-fang, the great *tan* actor, which is published in issue No. 18 (September, 1953), is particularly interesting.

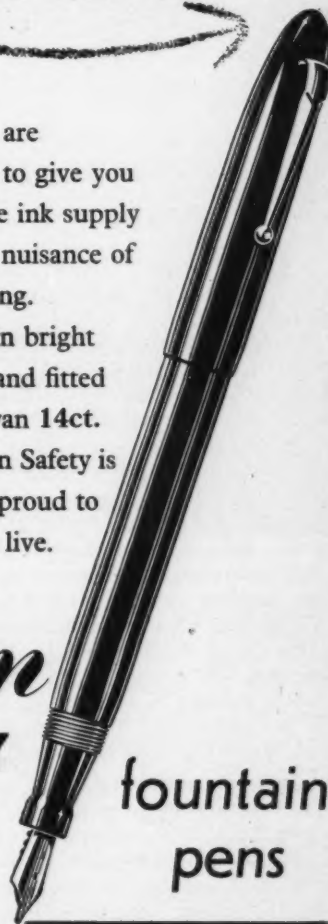
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DEEP-SEA DUELLING IN THE PACIFIC

By David Gunston

THE warm waters of the Pacific are the scene of perhaps the fiercest life and death struggles in wild nature. The contestants are those oddly-contrasted creatures, the sperm whale and the giant squid.

Sperm whales, or cachalots, occur in dwindling numbers in most of the tropical oceans, but they prefer the less-frequented waters of the Pacific and when adult think nothing of global journeyings. The evidence of recent whalers seems to suggest that they are tending to forsake the Indian Oceans for the Pacific, where they stand more chance of eluding their only real enemy, man.

This grotesque-looking whale, the largest of the toothed species, is the enemy of all the large squids and cuttlefish that abound in the depths of the Pacific.

It is strange that the sperm whale should have such creatures for its regular food, stranger still that it should have to fight so hard to obtain a meal from one, and strangest of all that the beak of the squid should on occasion prove so indigestible after all that it irritates the whale internally and causes the secretion of what we call ambergris.

The sperm whales prefer the largest cephalopods, the giant squids, which although closely related to the bigger octopuses, have certain distinguishing features. The squid has a long torpedo-shaped body built for speed, as well as eight comparatively short arms, and two long tentacles for catching its own prey. These have a few deadly suckers at their tips, but the shorter arms—used for holding their prey when swallowing it—are covered with suckers. The great round unblinking eyes, the backward propulsion through the water and the huge twin beak, shaped just like that of a parrot, complete a picture that must strike terror into all the smaller denizens of the ocean.

Only the sperm whale, with its barrel-shaped head and V-shaped trapdoor of a mouth, lined with 8-inch ivory teeth on the lower jaw, is unafraid of the spectre that the squid presents. Remaining on the surface for about ten minutes, filling up its lungs with fresh air, the whale cannot at first see its quarry. Then, at last, it "sounds", or dives down headfirst, so that the whole curve of his body breaks the water and the massive tail-flukes come right out of it. Having closed the blow-hole in its head with the liquid spermaceti oil stored in the chamber there, the whale becomes immune to sudden and drastic changes of pressure as it submerges. Down and down it goes at immense speed, heeding nothing until it reaches the bottom.

There the sperm regains its usual horizontal position in the water and swims around, perhaps for a mile or more, looking for a tasty meal. It is seldom disappointed, for clinging to some rocks lies the squid, literally standing on its head in its natural way. Its body may be anything from six to fifteen feet long, and with its long tentacles may

have a total span of up to forty feet. It is certainly no light opponent, and with the ghastly rows of suckers on its arms and tentacles, a creature with the bulk and power of a large whale around sixty feet in length is needed to meet it on more than equal terms. On seeing its victim, the whale flicks its upright tail and spurts forward to the attack. But the squid has been watching, too, and turns, ejecting a strong stream of water from a siphon-tube behind it, moves round and takes up a better position for the fray. Retreat is out of the question, for sinuous as it is, its maximum jet-propelled speed is far less than that of a hungry whale. At once its arms are thrust forward in self-defence, and the trailing tentacles with their clubbed ends wait, ready for the first opening.

The whale strikes first, its massive jaws open exposing its double line of teeth. The head is turned round swiftly, the body curved into position and the mouth snaps again and again with incredible speed. But the squid is no coward. Regardless of the greater size of its opponent, especially its threatening head, some twenty feet long, it comes forward, joins action and lashes out at the whale. In a split second those long tentacles are wrapped around the whale's head and body, while the shorter arms grip the nearest portion. The suckers tear and gouge the flesh, holding on with terrible tenacity. The whale wrenches loose but the tentacles meet it every time. The sperm takes some heavy punishment before its snapping jaw begins trimming off bits of the squid's arms. Then the squid draws nearer, its suckers still doing their worst, until its whole body is against the whale's head, but well clear of that fourteen-feet lower jaw. Its beak tries to attack the monster's unprotected head like a scimitar hurled at a bus, but all the time the whale is twisting and turning and biting with all its might.

As far as we know the whale always wins in the end, for no squid could escape fast enough to be safe, and only hungry whales hunt squids. But still it lacerates the whale's flesh, and its suckers cling to every possible spot, at times almost enveloping the front half of the monster as it struggles to gain the upper hand. Yet the whale's bite is tireless, and that spring-like lower jaw snaps and severs with unfailing regularity, until the whole body of the squid is drawn towards the whale's mouth. It then bites off the loose tentacles and usually rises swiftly to the surface to take in a fresh supply of air.

Few whales escape damage in these frays, however, and almost all sperms caught by whalers bear white scars and wound-marks about the blackish skin of the head and fore-body, evidence of these deep-sea encounters. The depth at which these duels take place varies from area to area.

Not long ago a trans-oceanic cable was fouled by a sperm whale and had to be hauled up, whale and all, before

it could be cleared. That was at a depth of just over 550 fathoms.

There is no doubt some very close connection between the oddly shaped head of this whale, with its unique oil content, and these great dives. Apart from acting as a valve against the water pressure, the huge buoyancy of the head probably helps the creature to rise swiftly to the surface after a prolonged sojourn in the depths. Whalers of old thought this spermaceti oil, which may be tapped off and which solidifies into a white wax on contact with the air, was in fact the whale's sperm, hence the name they gave it.

Although the stock of squids must be endless, the cachalot does sometimes eat less troublesome creatures, usually fish. There is a case on record of a ten-foot shark being found in a sperm's belly, and of course it has been

known to swallow men. One of the chief hazards of old-time open-boat whaling was the danger of attack and swallowing by an enraged whale, and many a man has been killed or maimed under such circumstances. There is, however, only one case on record of a man actually surviving after being swallowed by a sperm whale. He was a seaman named Bartley who in 1891 was missed from a capsized whale-boat.

The whale that swallowed him was caught shortly afterwards, but unknown to his comrades he lay unconscious in the dead sperm's stomach before it was flensed. When the whale was cut up, Bartley was found. He was still alive, and eventually recovered, but for the rest of his life he bore scars and burns on his face, neck and hands where the acid gastric juices of the whale had corroded his flesh.

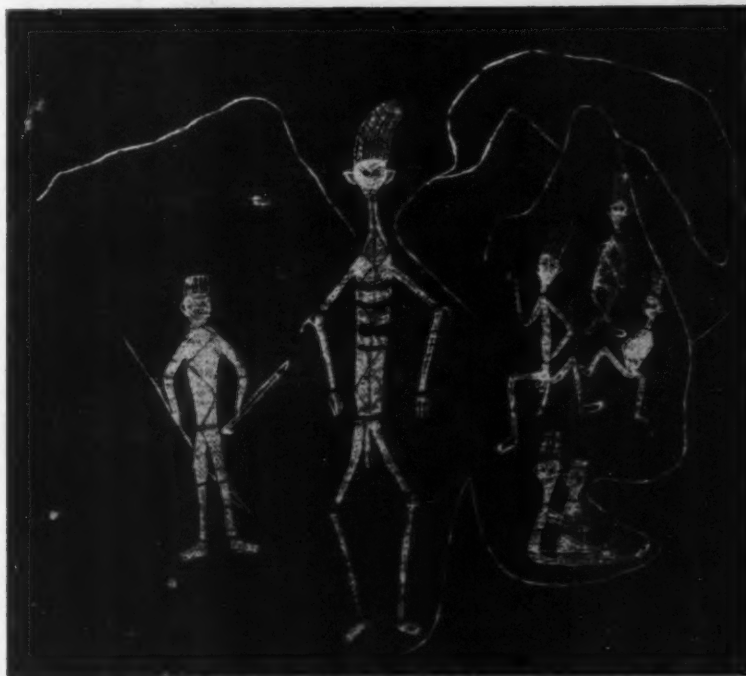
Australian Aboriginal Artists

By Frank Zeppel

WHEN an artist's work is described by a critic as "the most important development in the art of our country during the last hundred years," it is natural to assume various things about the artist, his background and his training: he is the representative of an achieved culture; he was encouraged in self-expression by understanding parents; his studies, begun in childhood, continued for many years before he achieved success.

These assumptions must be reconsidered, however, in view of developments which have taken place at Hermannsburg in Central Australia during the last few years. To begin with, the Arunta culture from which Albert Namatjira emerged is ordinarily described as that of a Stone Age hunting people, who have no agriculture, no domesticated animals, no permanent homes and who ordinarily wear no clothing. Namatjira had not concerned himself with art for the first 32 years of his life. His formal training—and it was rather informal at that—lasted for only two months.

If his case were utterly unique, it might be regarded as a mere oddity and it might not be necessary to challenge the easy assumptions of the past that the Australian aborigines are "congenitally retarded . . . inherently incapable of development, etc."



A bark drawing by an Australian aborigine. It represents the adventures of the Mimi spirits who are supposed to live in caves

In 1877 some Lutheran missionaries came to Central Australia to help the Australian aborigines. They formed a mission station at Hermannsburg, in the country of the Arunta tribe. Over the years, a community of 300 or so Aruntas gathered about the mission station. It was a centre where they received education and training in various skills and trades so that they could earn a living; but they still kept their identity as aborigines, living in their tribal country and keeping contact with tradition.

In 1934, two Melbourne artists, Rex Battarbee and John Gardner, came to Central Australia on a painting trip. They spent two months in the Hermannsburg country, a country of dramatic mountain scenery and, above all, of



An aboriginal bark drawing, depicting a pregnant woman

colour. A brilliant light and a clear atmosphere reflected the amazing blue of the sky to form a variety of tones with red rocks, the foliage of the trees, and the shadows of the valleys.

Shortly before their departure the artists gave an exhibition at the Hermannsburg Mission Station of the pictures they had painted. It was a revelation to the Arunta aborigines, for these water-colours depicted the Central Australian landscape which they knew so well.

The Arunta art was limited to four natural colours: charcoal black, white pipeclay, red and yellow ochres. It was limited, too, by its traditional form. Aiming simply at telling a story, it used geometric figures, lines and circles arranged in a decorative pattern, and these symbols had to be interpreted by someone versed in the traditional meanings. The Hermannsburg aborigines therefore gazed with delight at these vivid-coloured pictures by Battarbee and his friend which needed no aid from the spoken word to be

understood. Among them was Albert Namatjira, whose name shows the mixture of influences to which he had already been exposed. His first name, Albert, was given him as a child at the mission school; Namatjira was his family tribal name and meant "flying white ant" in the Arunta language. At the time of the exhibition in 1934, Namatjira was 32 years old, a man of responsibility with a wife and family to look after. He was known as a hard worker, who could be relied on as a camel boy, stockman, and a handyman who knew something of carpentry and smithing.

Namatjira obtained a box of paints after the Hermannsburg exhibition and expressed his determination to become an artist. For the next year he made little progress, and understandably so, for he had received no teaching, had never watched another artist at work and had never seen a picture gallery.

In 1936, Rex Battarbee came back to Hermannsburg on another painting trip. Impressed by Namatjira's sincere desire to paint, he gave him some elementary lessons in the use of water colours. Within a fortnight Namatjira showed he had talent and an amazing grasp of the difficult technique of water colour. His two months' trip with Battarbee was the whole of his "formal training."

Just two years later, in 1938, he held his first exhibition of 41 water colours in Melbourne. All the pictures sold within a few days. The same thing happened in Adelaide a year later and, subsequently, in all the other main capital cities of Australia. Today he is one of the best selling of Australian artists, despite the fact that his pictures now fetch 50 guineas each and have been purchased by the National Galleries of Adelaide, Perth and Brisbane.

Namatjira's success is astonishing enough, but it was only the beginning of something even more remarkable. Some of the other Arunta men, encouraged by Namatjira's achievements, tried their hand at painting too. By 1951, ten of them were earning their living by art! Not only that, but some of them are considered to be producing work of greater artistic merit than Namatjira.

Rex Battarbee, for example, feels that Edwin Pareroultja is a genius. This man was regarded as one of the outstanding athletes in Central Australia, and was 25 years old when he started painting in 1943. His style is completely his own, and has been an important influence on the other Hermannsburg artists in showing that it is possible to paint good pictures quite unlike Namatjira's. The National Galleries of Melbourne and Sydney have bought his pictures. His vital, emotional work is influenced by traditional Arunta art.

This latter quality is even more pronounced in his brother Otto, four years older. In his work, the aboriginal decoration appears unconsciously. Sometimes the shadows resemble aboriginal rock drawings, and swirling lines in rhythmic patterns move through the mountains and trees. Otto Pareroultja's development has been slow, but it is thought that if he continues he may become the greatest of them all.

ECONOMIC SECTION

Dutch Trade with the East

By J. J. M. (Amsterdam)

IN common with many other countries, Holland is doing her utmost to expand her exports and until now she has succeeded, as can be seen from the spectacular recovery of her balance of payments. After the second world war and especially after the transfer of sovereignty to Indonesia, Dutch businessmen directed their attention more intensively to South-East Asia and the Far East. Most Dutch business houses formerly operating in Indonesia have now their own offices in these markets which, generally speaking, show good financial results.

Dutch exports to South-East Asia on the whole have developed quite favourably, whilst prospects are bright, although the full impact of Japanese competition has not yet been felt. Dutch exporters meet with strong competition from the United Kingdom and Western Germany, who increasingly offer their commodities at very attractive credit terms. In the case of Western Germany, Dutch exporters complain of the cut-throat prices.

INDIA

This country is an increasing outlet for Dutch products. In 1952, Dutch exports amounted to Fls.85 millions, which represents an increase of nearly 23% compared with the preceding year.

The existing import and exchange restrictions offer Dutch exporters good chances to expand their business, as they allow the importation of traditional Dutch exports such as milk powder, condensed milk, glass and earthenware.

Transactions are chiefly liquidated on a letter of credit basis. Recently more and more Indian importers wish to buy on sight draft basis, as British and German exporters extend such facilities to them. In many cases this mode of payment is accepted by the Dutch as Dutch banks, owing to their ample funds, are now quite willing to discount bills.

During the period January to June, 1953, Dutch exports amounted to Fls.30 millions and imports from India to Fls. 19.8 millions. The principal Dutch export products were dairy produce (approximately Fls.6 millions), chemicals, yarns, machinery, electro-technical material, and vehicles, whereas India supplied coffee, tea, tobacco, raw cotton, yarns.

Statistical data supplied by the Economic Bureau of the Amsterdamsche Bank N.V., Amsterdam.

Dutch businessmen regard India as a good market whilst credit-rating is proportionately high.

The export of chemicals meets with a fairly strong competition from local industry which is self-supporting in raw materials. The influence of Germany is strongly felt by Dutch exporters.

In the near future the Netherlands will export big quantities of seed potatoes to India to help with the development of Indian agriculture. This is a result of the recent visit of Sardar Sir Datar Singh, Secretary-General of the Indian Ministry of Food and Agriculture.

The Dutch Cable Factory at Delft has received an order of approximately Fls.6.5 millions for the delivery of underground telephone cables.

PAKISTAN

At the beginning of this year Pakistan's imports were practically at a standstill, but Dutch exports developed quite satisfactorily, although fairly lengthy delays in transfers occurred, owing to Pakistan's lack of foreign exchange. Whereas India takes a wide range of Dutch products, Pakistan chiefly imports industrial goods and non-manufactured articles from the Netherlands which explains the continued flow of Dutch goods to this country notwithstanding the import restrictions which, however, mainly applied to consumer goods. The bulk of Dutch exports is directed to Western Pakistan, imports largely coming from Eastern Pakistan.

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The recent relaxation of import restrictions may enlarge Dutch trade with the country. The vast industrial development schemes of the Government necessitating the importation of capital goods and materials may also be of importance to Dutch manufacturers and exporters, although competition from the United Kingdom and Western Germany is formidable. The Germans not only offer at highly competitive prices but also give extended credits.

Most Dutch export transactions are on a letter of credit basis. Dutch banks also discount bills but at a rather high premium.

The Pakistan Government recently placed a big order (about Fls.20 millions) with a Dutch firm for the building of dredgers and related material destined for Eastern Pakistan.

BURMA

The principal Dutch export to Burma is condensed milk. About 80% of the total Burmese consumption comes from Holland. It is, however, generally feared in Holland that this export will fall in the future as the Burmese are making energetic efforts to modernise cattle breeding and milk production. Other Dutch export products are fish conserves, beer, margarine, chemicals and pharmaceuticals, silk and rayon goods, radios, glassware.

The abolition of the preferential tariff applying to imports from the United Kingdom, India and some other countries of the Commonwealth will undoubtedly enlarge business opportunities for Dutch trade.

During the period January/June, 1953, Dutch exports to Burma amounted to about Fls.7 millions. Compared with the same period of 1952, an increase of some 30% was achieved.

Recently a special Burmese mission visited Holland and valuable contacts were made with Dutch manufacturers in connection with the rehabilitation and development plans of Burma.

Most transactions are on a letter of credit basis in sterling.

THAILAND

This country with her unstabilised economy still offers Dutch trade favourable opportunities, although competition from the United Kingdom and Western Germany is strongly felt. By July this year Dutch exports reached the volume of Fls.25 millions. Principal export products were dairy produce, clothing, iron and steel manufactures and machinery. Transactions are mostly on a letter of credit basis and effected in sterling.

The Amsterdam Ballast Company is participating in dredging the Chao Pya river near Bangkok and recently succeeded in obtaining other Government work.

FRENCH AND PORTUGUESE INDIA

Dutch trade with these regions is of minor importance, although exports are increasing. Transfer difficulties do not encourage Dutch exporters to explore these markets.

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favourably and consisted of dairy produce, rubber wares, machinery, cardboard and paper.

SINGAPORE AND MALAYA

The fall in tin and rubber prices has slashed Malaya's revenue severely, and naturally repercussions are felt in Holland too. This situation is aggravated by the import ban issued by Indonesia which restricts imports from Singapore. This and the textile crisis caused most Dutch business houses established in this city to reduce their activities and some were even compelled to close down. Dutch exporters experience strong competition from the United Kingdom as Singapore and the Federation of Malaya are traditionally good markets for British products, ranging from the capital equipment required by industries and communications to the many varieties of consumer goods normally required by a mixed European and Asian population. Despite the strong position of the British export trade, the Dutch successfully succeeded in enlarging their exports, as is proved by the following figures:

Dutch exports to Singapore and Malaya:

1948	1949	1950	1951	1952
18	22.6	44	71	78

(In millions of Dutch guilders)

Up till July this year Dutch exports totalled nearly Fls.47 millions. The bulk of these exports go to Singapore, and consist mainly of dairy produce, chemicals, confectionery, wireless receivers (45% of total imports), cocoa

and chocolate, cardboard and paper, machinery and fertilisers. As stocks of all varieties of goods are fairly big and turnovers small, the prospects for the end of this year are not bright unless the Indonesian Government decides to lift the import ban.

HONG KONG

The Colony's foreign trade has shown a tremendous increase since the war, due in part to the fact that since the establishment of the new régime in China, Shanghai has lost its former prominence as an international trade and shipping centre. The general boom as a result of the outbreak of hostilities in Korea has added further to Hong Kong trading activities. Due to the embargo on exports to China imposed during 1951 and the restrictions on the importation of Chinese goods, trade returns in 1952 declined. The following figures, although inflated by the rise in prices, are indicative of the activity in this important commercial centre:

		Imports (in millions of HK \$)	Exports
1949	...	2,750	2,319
1950	...	3,788	3,716
1951	...	4,870	4,433
1952	...	3,787	2,913

(Source: Nationale Handelsbank N.V.)

The future place of Hong Kong in international trade is highly dependent on the trade policy to be adopted by China, who is trying to conduct business direct with other countries, although this policy meets with many difficulties, as shown by the recent failure of negotiations with Eastern Germany. It will, however, not be so easy to circumvent Hong Kong. Just recently the importance of this city as a financial centre was clearly proved by the financing (in sterling) of some direct barter transactions between China and Japan, this being the only way to effect these transactions. The fear that Dutch exports to Hong Kong would fall proved to be unfounded. During the first six months of this year Dutch exports amounted to HK \$67.5 millions which is HK \$14 more compared with the same period of 1952. Holland thus ranks eighth among the supplying countries. The principal export commodities are ammonium sulphate, yarns, dairy produce, pharmaceuticals, chemicals, machinery, iron and steel and manufactures thereof. Prospects for the remainder of the year are bright.

Dutch exports are on either a letter of credit or a collection basis, and are chiefly effected in sterling. The control of the Bank of England, especially during the Korean war, was very tight.

CHINA

The United Nations embargo on the export of goods of strategic value has been an important contributory factor in the contraction of trade between China and the West. The part of the West in trade with this country heavily declined: in 1952 it was only 28% as against 74% in 1950.

The assumption that any trade with China is harmful has also its strong advocates in Holland. Dutch exporters meet with serious difficulties in obtaining export licences

even for goods of which the non-strategic value is clear. The Dutch Government is very cautious about any renewal of trade with China on a large scale pending the truce negotiations. Dutch businessmen, however, point to the fact that China is interested in rapid industrialisation. Machine tools, production and transport equipment are needed for fulfilling her five-year plan, and the West is the natural source for such materials.

In 1952, Holland's exports to China amounted to Fls.127.000 and imports to Fls.18.5 millions. During January to June this year Dutch exports consisted mainly of chemicals and pharmaceuticals valued at Fls.10 millions. In this period China exported soya beans, edible oils, bristles to the amount of Fls. 45 millions. The balance of trade is thus strongly in favour of the Chinese.

Transactions are mostly liquidated in sterling. The

control of the Bank of England on these transactions is very tight; in many cases transfer permits were refused.

JAPAN

The extent of trade between Holland and Japan is very small, whilst prospects for the future are not rosy. In 1952, Dutch exports reached the value of Fls.11 millions. Until just recently most import and export transactions were liquidated on a compensation basis. The Dutch Government recently adopted a more liberal import policy as regards Japan. As a consequence of this liberalisation Japanese goods, chiefly toys and household utensils, again appear on the Dutch market, prices of which are rather high compared with the German makes.

Dutch and Japanese officials are now negotiating a trade agreement providing for an exchange of commodities of \$13 millions in both directions.

Singapore Legislative Council

IN October 20th, H.E. the Governor of Singapore, Sir John F. Nicoll, K.C.M.G., surveyed the Colony's state of affairs in a speech to the Legislative Council. The speech contained, amongst others, the following points:

"... The Emergency has continued to occupy a significant portion of our energy and resources and must continue to do so until the Communist menace has been destroyed. The situation has certainly improved and here in Singapore incidents have been fewer but quite sufficient to show that the enemy is still active and determined. One satisfactory feature is the reduction to less than twenty of persons detained under the Emergency Regulation. It is impossible to determine precisely how many Communists and Communist sympathisers there are in the Colony, but we estimate that there are some 2,000 followers of the Communist line. It is of course in the Federation of Malaya where the main battle is being fought and until that battle is won Singapore must remain in jeopardy. . . .

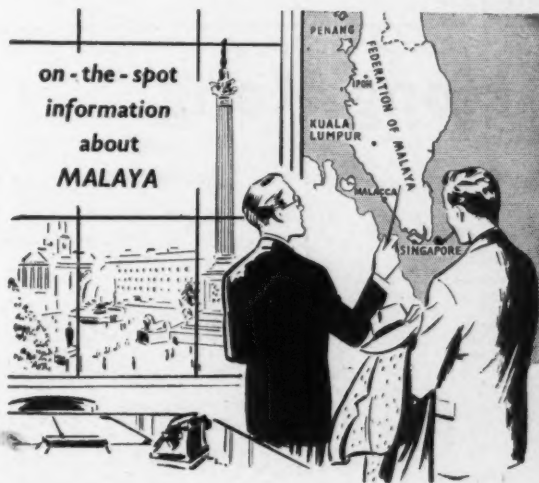
Turning now to the constitutional position, we have initiated a further important advance. The work of the Council since the last revision of the Constitution has shown that the people are ready and fit to take on heavier responsibilities in the way of governing the country. Accordingly . . . I have set up a Constitutional Commission to review the whole constitution and to make recommendations. . . .

During 1953 we have seen a further contraction in both the value and the volume of the Colony's trade, mainly because of the fall in the world price of rubber and tin on which the prosperity of the countries of South-East Asia so largely depends. On the other hand, the level of the Colony's trade during the past year has been considerably higher than it was during the corresponding period in 1949-50. With this situation in mind it is satisfactory to note that a surplus of over \$33 million is expected on the 1953 Accounts. The pattern of previous years is being repeated, though perhaps to a lesser extent; revenue is exceeding estimates, expenditure is less than expected and in some cases desired and so reserves increase. By the end of this year it is estimated that the surplus balances will total some \$280 million, including the Opium Revenue Replacement Reserve Fund, and our reserves position therefore certainly is satisfactory. . . .

The Singapore Harbour Board which plays so important a part in the commercial life of the Colony has had another successful year although because of the trade recession rather less cargo has been handled so far than for the same period in 1952. Even so over 2.6 million tons of cargo was handled in the first six months of this year and the number of vessels using the wharfs

and their aggregate registered tonnage have actually increased. It is expected that by the end of the year over 3,500 ships will have been accommodated during the year in addition to nearly 350 vessels being docked and repaired. The Board is very alive to the need for continuing to provide the most efficient service possible at a cost attractive to shipping. . . .

Between the years 1949 and 1953 the Colony has multiplied its recurrent expenditure on the education services by more than 3½ times, on its medical services by 2½ times, and on its Social Welfare services by nearly seven times. Nor have we reached the limit of our planned expansion. . . ."



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Indian Blasting Explosives Project

AS the result of agreements reached between Imperial Chemical Industries Ltd. and the Government of India, a new company is to be established in India to manufacture the country's requirements of commercial blasting high explosives. The Government of India has desired for many years to see India self-sufficient in the manufacture of these essential industrial explosives, the demand for which has greatly increased owing to the development of mining and to the large public expenditure on water, power, irrigation works, and on road building.

The company will be known as Indian Explosives Ltd. Initially, Rs.2 crores (£1½m.) of capital will be issued, of which 80% will be subscribed by I.C.I. and 20% by the Government

of India. The balance of the capital required will be met by loans, of which the most important will be a loan from the Industrial Finance Corporation of India.

A site has been selected for the factory near the Bihar coal-field, the coal mining industry being the principal consumer of industrial explosives in India. I.C.I., through their Nobel Division, will provide designs for the plant and equipment, and will be responsible for its erection and setting to work. I.C.I. will also contribute all the technical knowledge required to operate the factory, as well as information on research. They will be drawing on their long experience of blasting explosives, which dates back to 1873, when Alfred Nobel established the first factory in Great Britain for the manufacture of high explosives containing nitroglycerine. I.C.I. will also provide initially all management staff required and a number of key workers. The factory will give direct employment to about 400 persons in all. I.C.I. has undertaken to train Indians to take over responsible positions.

By agreement with the new Company, I.C.I. (India), who have been acting as agents in the import of explosives manufactured by I.C.I. in the United Kingdom, will handle the distribution and sales of Indian-manufactured explosives. I.C.I. (India) will operate the extensive series of magazines which they own throughout the country and will continue to give the technical service to which consumers in India have become accustomed. I.C.I. (India) will also act as Secretaries to the new Company; in this capacity they will perform those services which are more easily conducted in Calcutta than at the factory.

Agreements embodying these arrangements have been concluded after discussions in New Delhi between the Ministry of Commerce and Industry of the Government of India and a Mission from I.C.I., including Head Office staff from London and technical staff from the Nobel Division of I.C.I. in Scotland. The Mission was accompanied and assisted by I.C.I. (India) staff. The agreements were signed on behalf of I.C.I. by Mr. R. C. Todhunter, one of the Directors on I.C.I.'s Main Board.

The establishment of this new company adds a new manufacturing activity to those which I.C.I. undertakes in India through its Indian subsidiary company the Alkali and Chemical Corporation of India Ltd. (which manufactures heavy chemicals and paints) and I.C.I. (India) Ltd. (which formulates dyestuffs and manufactures plastic film).

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HONG KONG REPORT

IN October, for the second consecutive month, the external trade of Hong Kong has shown an increase, but the total value of the Colony's foreign trade during the September-October period, amounting to HK\$980.2 million, was HK\$215.9 million lower than that of the corresponding period of 1952. These figures are the best illustration of the recent statement by H.E. Sir Alexander Grantham, G.C.M.G., the Governor of the Crown Colony, in which he emphasised how severely the Colony's economic life has been affected by the stringent external trade restrictions. Addressing the Hong Kong Engineering Society on November 13th, Sir Alexander said:

"Hong Kong suffers more from the United Nations' embargo on trade with China than any other place in the world except Macao... we have loyally observed the United Nations' embargo to our own detriment and this at a time when we have hundreds of thousands of refugees within our borders."

The following tables compare Hong Kong's external trade during the first ten months of this year with that of the corresponding period of the previous year, and show that while the Colony's imports have increased by HK\$206.7 million (mainly due to increased imports of food), the exports experienced a decline by HK\$20.6 million.

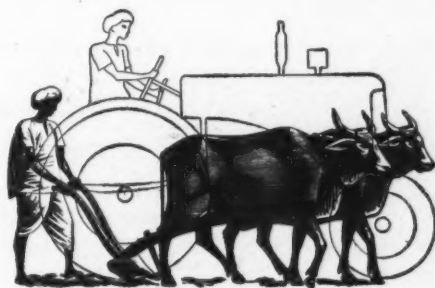
HONG KONG'S IMPORTS

	1953	1952
	first ten months of the year	
	(all figures in million HK\$)	
Total incl. from	3,297.3	3,090.5
U.K.	401.9	388.5
Malaya	146.4	133.9
Pakistan	94.4	73.2
USA	189.5	184.2
China (mainland)	727.1	657.2
Formosa	65.6	39.7
Thailand	272.3	180.3
W. Germany	181.3	93.7
Japan	330.1	406.1
Italy	68.4	95.1
Netherlands	101.2	86.6
Switzerland	87.8	88.6
Macao	57.2	52.5

HONG KONG'S EXPORTS

	1953	1952
	first ten months of the year	
	(all figures in million HK\$)	
Total incl. to	2,326.2	2,346.8
UK	98.2	72.1
Malaya	285.9	350.3
USA	51.8	104.1
China (mainland)	469.2	373.0
Formosa	84.1	171.4
Indonesia	325.6	415.9
Japan	196.2	102.7
Thailand	187.6	210.6
Macao	72.2	70.0

The marketing difficulties experienced by Hong Kong



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industries can be seen from the fact that in September exports of Hong Kong products fell to HK\$39.8 million showing a decline of HK\$4.1 million compared with August and HK\$32 million compared with June, 1953.

The value of exports of Hong Kong products during the first nine months of 1953 accounted for 22.4 per cent of the Colony's total exports during that period. The Hong Kong authorities are trying constantly to obtain a relief of US restrictions on the import of the Colony's products. By the end of September there was a total of 28 groups of locally produced, manufactured or processed goods which could be exported to the United States although they were presumption items' under the Foreign Assets Control Regulations. Discussions on other goods

are being continued with US officials. The agreement in respect of linen embroidered goods, which was reached after difficult and protracted negotiations, was an important step forward in view of the dollar earning potential of this item. A further attempt to increase the exports to the USA is the decision to participate at the Third International Trade Fair at Seattle in February, 1954. Furthermore, US buyers will be able to see samples of Hong Kong products at the forthcoming British Industries Fair in London.

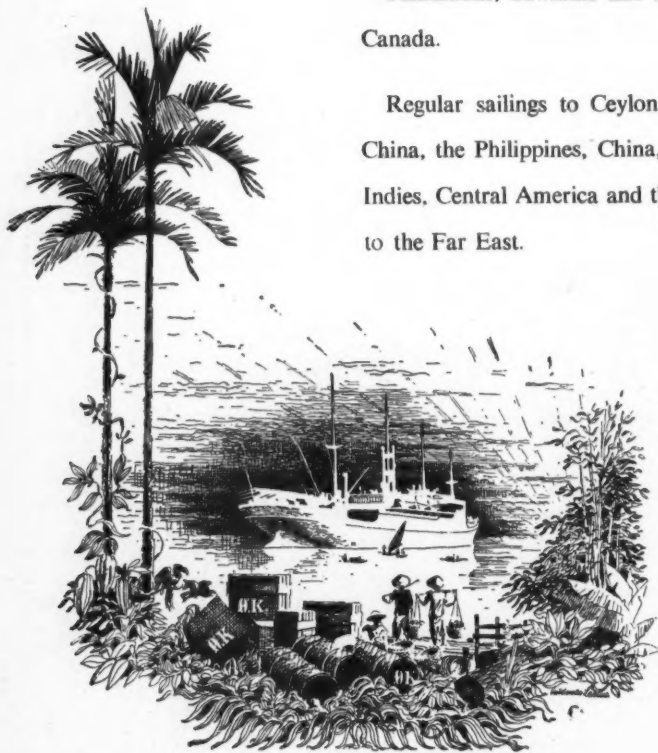
The commercial community of Hong Kong has again proved its virility during a trying period, and it is to be hoped that the impediments which prevent the full functioning of the Colony both industrially and as an international entrepôt will be removed.

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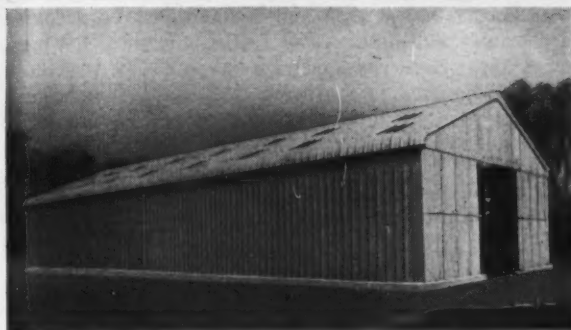
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Malayan Tin Mining Industry

FOLLOWING the recent meeting of the International Rubber Study Group, a meeting on the other commodity of vital importance to the economic life of Malaya began in Geneva on November 16th, namely the second session of the United Nations Tin Conference.

Mr. H. T. Karsten, the Chairman of East Asiatic Rubber Estates Ltd., commented on the Rubber Conference as follows:

"There has just been another meeting of the International Rubber Study Group in an endeavour to find a solution of our troubles. The producing countries considered that the emergency could be met by a buffer stock pool, but the American interests, and especially the larger rubber manufacturers, are against anything which prevents the free flow of commerce. This is a remarkable attitude when you read almost daily in the Press about restrictive practices and pegged prices for American products like wheat and cotton."

A certain scepticism is shown towards possible results of the Tin Conference which now meets in Geneva. The US Government, while participating, will not commit itself to any practical decisions which might be agreed upon by the Conference. Delegates would be well advised to take note of the statement recently made by Mr. J. Ivan Spens, the Chairman of the London Tin Corporation Ltd., that

"What is needed in the tin industry, by the producer and consumer, is a reasonably stable price. Violent fluctuations in the price are embarrassing to everyone concerned and caused uncertainties which make economic planning most difficult."

The first meeting of the UN Tin Conference was held in Geneva in 1950, when it was recognised that when either a surplus or a shortage of tin is anticipated then inter-governmental cooperation and action would be desirable to meet any difficulties. The 1950 Conference, however, found that the draft agreement prepared by the International Tin Study Group and the various international measures proposed at the Conference to meet the difficulties differed so widely in their method of operation that further examination by Governments concerned was required. Whether the 1953 Conference will be able to narrow down this difference of opinions and to reach an agreement which afterwards will also be ratified by the US Government remains to be seen.

Malaya's tin mining industry is vital to the economy of the country, and the influence of fluctuations within this industry on the political climate of Malaya should not be underrated. The output of tin in concentrates in Malaya amounted to 41,411 long tons during the first nine months of 1953, representing a decline of 883 tons as against the corresponding period of 1952.

During the last week of October the US Vice-President, Mr. Nixon, visited Indonesia,* Malaya and Thailand. In all these countries the importance of stabilisation of the prices of tin and rubber was discussed.

* Since Mr. Nixon's visit to Indonesia, that country's authorities decided to lift the ban on the sale of rubber to China.

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THE JAVA SUGAR INDUSTRY

By Audrey G. Donnithorne



Cutting sugar canes on a Java plantation

THE prosperity of Surabaya and Semarang was built on the export of sugar. The cultivation, milling and shipment of this, Java's one-time chief export, made the fortunes of factory owners and merchants. For better or worse the sugar industry caused modern methods and ways of economic life to penetrate into the interior of the island and to impinge on the way of life of the countryside.

Not much is known about the early days of sugar cultivation in Java. The existence of the industry on any scale dates from the first half of the nineteenth century and the pioneers were probably Chinese. Cane was first grown in West Java but then cultivation shifted eastwards where soil and climatic conditions were more favourable. Under the "Culture System" in the middle of the last century taxes were paid in kind, with sugar holding an important place in the returns. The Dutch officials were charged with ensuring the proper growing of the cane in their districts and one was dismissed because the crop in his Residency was badly cultivated. The cane was crushed in factories most of which were owned by Europeans although some were Chinese concerns. The millers were remunerated by the Government by being given a share of the product. The period between 1870-1890 saw the gradual ending of the Culture System and the transition from compulsory to free cultivation of sugar. Thereupon individual Europeans began growing and trading in sugar in addition to crushing it as heretofore. In some cases these people were newcomers and in others were existing millers of sugar. During this period there was an influx of European capital into the industry, the King of the Netherlands himself taking an active part in fostering this flow.

The organisation of the actual cultivation of the cane that was adopted at that time has been carried on until the present day. The factory (mill) was the unit around which the whole process turns. The cane is grown on land rented from the village community. Planting takes place from April to June and the cane is harvested the next year from

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May to October, taking some fifteen months to reach maturity. The factory employs villagers for the work in the fields and for factory operations. In addition, of course, sums are paid for the land rented. In this way it came about that the sugar factories were the instruments whereby large regions of East Java were introduced to a cash economy in place of the localised self-sufficiency that obtained there previously.

The first sugar factories were, for the most part, proprietary undertakings. Before long the need for capital began to exceed the resources of some factories or in other cases the individual owners were unable or unwilling to manage the businesses themselves. For such reasons larger groupings began to form in the industry. Shortage of capital led to borrowing from agricultural banks (the "Culture Banks"). If the borrower got into difficulties the bank might have to take over the factory in order to recoup its loan. In this way the ownership of a large number of sugar factories passed completely into the hands of the banks. While Culture Banks grew from the need of supplying capital, another type of grouping, the "administrative kantor," developed from the necessity of providing management. A factory owner retiring to Holland might ask a lawyer in some city in East Java to keep an oversight over his property, or a factory passing to an heiress might be managed by a family friend. Such instances were the beginnings from which grew firms specialising in the management of sugar factories. In yet other cases companies with large resources would set out to buy or build several

factories. The result of all these developments is that few proprietary factories, independent of these larger groupings, remain. This evolution is similar to that which has transformed the Malayan estate rubber industry from its early beginnings of proprietary estates into its present organisation under agency houses. In each case the original units were too small to provide the necessary capital for development or for tiding over years of depression, or they could not economically supply the technical advice and service that competitive conditions demanded. The two major crises of the Java sugar industry—that of 1884 and the long slump of the 1930s—were the years in which the process of consolidation into larger units proceeded most rapidly although at other times it also went on as individual circumstances compelled.

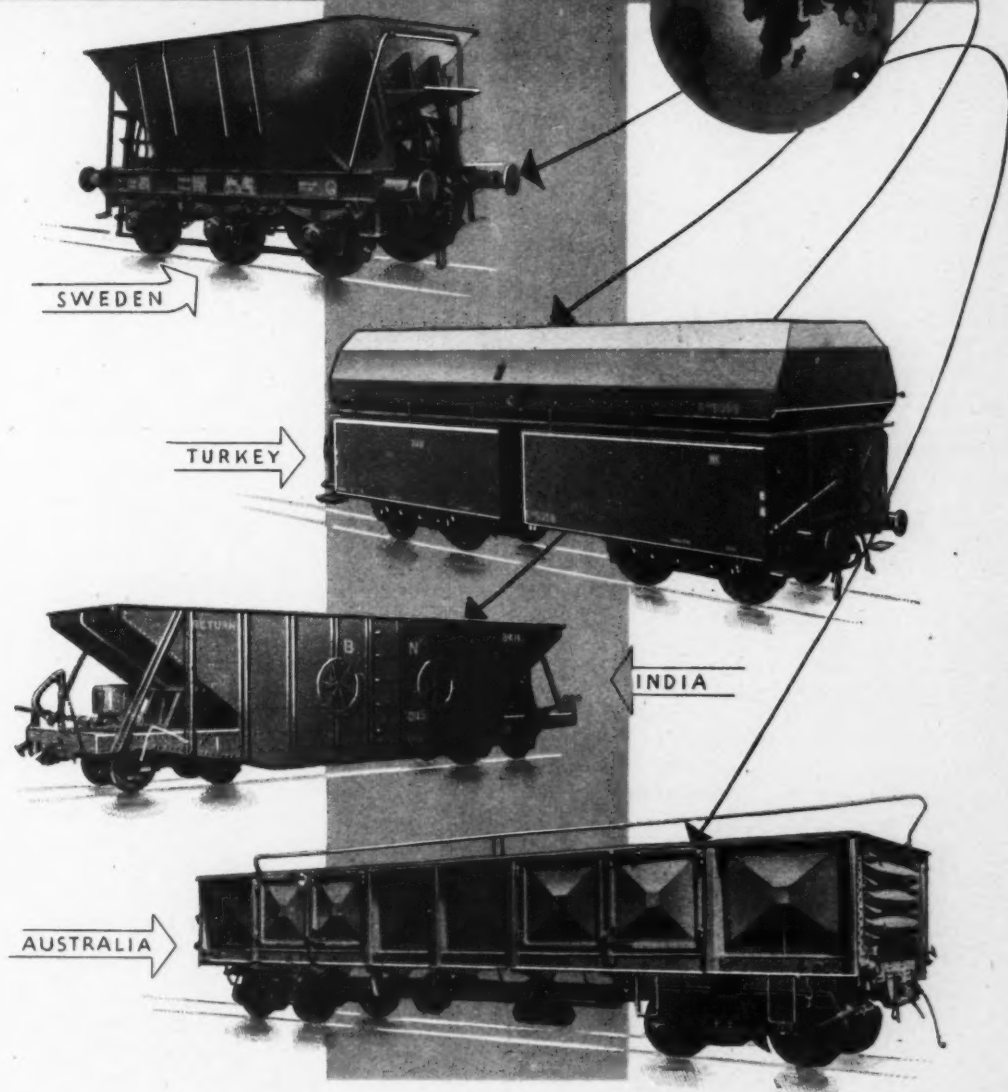
The depression encouraged the formation of industry-wide bodies and increased the importance of those that already existed. In 1932 the purchase of sugar from producers was concentrated in the hands of an organisation known, from its initials, as NIVAS; this body has a monopoly of the sale of sugar to exporters. Even before this the export business had been centralised. This had the result that production and export has not been verticalised in any firm in Java on lines parallel to those, for instance, of Tate & Lyle. The nearest approach to this was the case of one factory which for a short time sold packet sugar under its own name—but only in Java and not in export markets.

The owners of sugar factories are linked by the Algemeen Syndicaat van Suikerfabrikanten in Indonesia. This body—usually known as ASSI—was founded in 1907 and looks after the owners' common interests. The famous Research Station at Pasuruan, East Java, is a subsidiary of ASSI. By its brilliant success in breeding improved varieties of cane it raised the average output per hectare of Java sugar from 100 quintals in 1912 to 170 quintals before the Second World War.

During the slump an international sugar restriction scheme was operated and in accordance with this a number of sugar factories in Java were turned over to other uses and still others were out of use but kept in running condition in case demand should rise. Altogether at the outbreak of war there were 85 factories in operation and 27 in reserve. Almost all of these were European-owned, predominantly by Dutch, although there were a few in Chinese ownership and one or two Indonesian ones. During the Japanese occupation the area under sugar was drastically curtailed as Java was cut off from the usual markets. The greatest damage to the industry came after the war during the struggle for independence. The Nationalists adopted a scorched earth policy and destroyed a considerable number of sugar factories to deny them to the Dutch. In the district around Jogjakarta, the centre of Indonesian resistance, all the factories were pulled down. The writer visited the site of one of these where two tall factory chimneys towered gauntly over ruined walls and

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girders. Some of the rubble had been taken by the villagers for building purposes. A number of factories have been repaired or rebuilt and there are now over 50 in operation.

The task of reconstruction has been hampered by the complete lack of compensation for war and post-war damage. The companies concerned are either unable to finance rebuilding or are unwilling to bring capital into Indonesia under prevailing conditions. Consequently the industry has fallen back on the banks who have now, more than ever, a controlling position in the industry. Before the war the factories used to decide what acreage to plant with cane and then apply to the banks for the necessary working capital; now the bank decides how much credit to allot and the factory plants accordingly.

An interesting development may come from the Indonesian Government's desire for the peasants to grow the cane themselves and sell it to the factories, instead of the cultivation being directed by the factories. Such a scheme would be welcomed by the factories themselves as it would relieve them of the problem of finding working capital to finance the fifteen months during which the cane is growing. The difficulty is that the peasants have not the capital, nor the access to lenders, to enable them to undertake this task. In one district there is a possibility of their obtaining credit from Arab merchants and here the scheme may succeed.

Since the war the industry has been faced with serious labour difficulties. The efficiency of labour has been



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greatly reduced. To quote one small example, nowadays the cane is not being properly pulled; a little piece at the bottom of the stalk is left in the ground and as the sugar content of this part is very high a great wastage results. The largest union of sugar workers—the Serikat Buru Gula—is affiliated to SOBSI, the Communist labour federation. There is also a non-Communist union which bears the same name. To lessen confusion the two are colloquially known as SBG Surabaya and SBG Malang respectively, from the locations of their headquarters. The two unions are on very unfriendly terms and neither likes to be outdone by the other when it comes to making demands on the employers.

The outcome of all these difficulties is that since the war Java has had scarcely any export surplus of sugar and the price on the home market has ruled above world market levels. This, however, may be changing as recently Indonesia agreed to supply 50,000 tons of sugar to countries of the British Commonwealth. At the 1952 International Sugar Conference at London, the Indonesian delegation refused to sign the International Agreement because the quotas allocated to Indonesia were considered too low. They claimed quotas based on the country's pre-war export figures, while the Conference wanted to base the quotas on an export capacity estimated at not more than 250,000 tons a year. The Indonesians did not think that the refusal to sign the Agreement would prejudice their ability to find markets for their sugar.

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